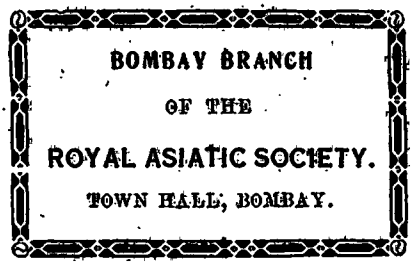
196



Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 January, 2016

TO

COLONEL SIR JOHN MALCOLM,

K.C.B., F.L.S.,

THIS WORK

ON

MUHAMMEDANISM

IS INSCRIBED,

AS A TESTIMONY OF GRATITUDE FOR THE PATRONAGE

WHICH IT HAS RECEIVED FROM HIM,

AND OF

29578 ac

RESPECT FOR HIS GREAT ATTAINMENTS IN THE

LANGUAGES AND HISTORY OF THE EAST,

BY

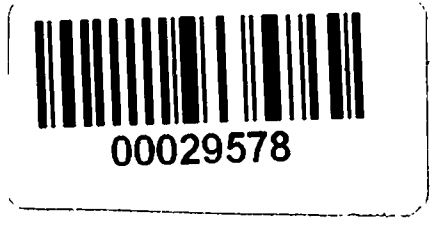
HIS OBLIGED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

CHARLES MILLS.

4, Sloane Street, January 18[illegible]

ARY
THE
BAY
ICH
THE
SOCIETY

2:7
mil/muh
29578



ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

If the Public had been in possession of any book of a nature similar to my own, I would not last winter have obtruded upon their notice my attempt at a description of Mahommedan opinions and manners. The hope, however, that they would endure an imperfect work, rather than be without one altogether, induced me to follow Sir John Malcolm's recommendation, and print my Manuscript. In that hope, I have not been deceived; for my History, immediately on its appearance, was received with that attention, and met with that ready sale, which shewed that an analysis of the innumerable volumes on Mahommedan history and religion was agreeable to the general wish. It was soon evident that a Second Edition would ere long be required. Stimulated to fresh exertions, I have reconsidered the whole subject, perused all that has appeared in print on my attempt, and read a vast variety of Oriental books. A few of these books appeared since the publication of my First Edition; others were of old standing. I *could* not have read the former earlier than I did: I *ought* to have read the latter. I will not plead the commonplace of authorship or offer any excuses for my omissions;—candor will say what it pleases. This increase of knowledge has frequently caused changes both in statement and opinion, and

were

were it not for the great space it would occupy, I would mention all the variations between the present Edition and the last. An important one is, that in my fifth chapter I have on this occasion entered more at large into the theology, morality, laws, and usages of the Moslemans. At first, (following Sale too closely and not thinking that his object and mine were in many points different) I confined myself to a consideration of the Koran. For the detection of my strange error in not drawing also from the traditionary law I am indebted to the liberal criticism of the Eclectic Reviewers.—It is the duty of a literary censor *refellere sine invidiâ*, and of an author, *refelli sine pertinaciâ*.

Public kindness has given me the opportunity of attempting to correct the faults and omissions in my First Edition: and though I am afraid that as the History of Muhammedanism is more bulky, its imperfections have increased, yet a consciousness of diligence warrants me to say in the language of SAMUEL JOHNSON, that "I de-"liver my book to the world with the spirit of a man that "has endeavored well."

PREFACE.

With Asia the most interesting ideas are associated;—that original seat of population, religion, and letters, that parent of numerous sciences, and inventress of so large a portion of useful and elegant arts. Every page of her records is filled with splendid and awful scenes. The history of the monarchies of old relates principally to the East, and the annals of the middle ages of Europe are by no means so rich and momentous, as the contemporaneous annals of Asia. In a favourable crisis, in one of those periods of civil and religious discord, when a new direction could be given to the human passions, an obscure individual appeared on the theatre of fanaticism and ambition, and assumed the office of Prophet and Legislator. With the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other,

Mohammed

Muhammed and the Caliphs commenced their war against the civil and religious institutions of the world. The kingdoms which filled the fair and ample space between the Ganges and the Atlantic were overthrown; a new religion, new manners, and new polities were introduced, and the political and moral face of the world was changed.

Certainly, we may exclaim with Bayle, "the "greatest spectacles which history exhibits are "the actions of the Muhammedans. What can "be more striking than the Empire of the Sa- "racens extending from the Straits of Gibralter "to India. Did it partake of the usual in- "stability of greatness? Behold the Turks on "one side and the Tartars on the other, pre- "serving the grandeur and the fame of Mu- "hammed!"

The history of the promulgation of the Muhammedan religion,—unfolding as it does so many scenes interesting to the moralist and the philosopher, and involving the social relations of countries, whose extent and population will startle a mind comparing the influence of Chris-

tianity

fanity and Islamism,—has often engaged the reflections of the wise. The life of the author of a mighty revolution, the reigns of the Caliphs, and of the Tartarian Princes, are subjects worthy the study of men, who delight in the contemplation of the rise and fall of Empires. The Koran, or book accounted sacred by the Muselmans, has been translated into most European languages, and its theological and ethical system can be placed on the same rank with the codes of Solon and Numa, of Brahma and Zoroaster. The histories of letters abound with notices respecting the literature of the Saracens, curious to those who mark the progress of mind; and as Religion forms a prominent feature in character, the attention of the observer of human nature is drawn to those portions of the works of travellers, which describe the great extent and influence of the Muhammedan delusion. But no attempt has been hitherto made to extract the substance of the different volumes on the subject of Muhammedanism (many of them elaborate and rare); to collect to one point the principal lights which writers have thrown upon

it,

it, and to form a connected and concise account of the religious, political, and literary history of the disciples of the Arabian Prophet.—An undertaking of this nature is the subject of the present volume. The curiosity of the studious will be excited by the dignity and variety of the topics, and his candor also, by the obvious difficulty of treating them well.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

The Life of Muhammed.

Page

Description of Arabia 1
The inhabitants 3
Their religion 4
Their politics and government 6
The family of Muhammed 7
His birth 8
—— early youth 9
The various written lives of Muhammed 9
His marriage with Kadijah 10
He founds a new religion 12
His first converts 13
He preaches at Mecca 13
Progress of his religion 14
His persecution by the Koreish 17
—— flight from Mecca 19
—— entry into Medina 20
Of the date of the Hegira 21
Muhammed propagates his religion by the sword, and
retaliates on the Koreish 21
His wars with the Arabians and Jews 23
Battle of Beder 24
Muhammed re-enters Mecca 25

His

Page
His wars with the Romans 26
Battle of Marah 27
Of the terms Islam, Moslem, Musulman, and Saracen .. ib.
Intellectual invasion of Syria 29
Death of Mahammed 31
The vulgar errors respecting him 35
His character 36
— Enthusiasm ..... ib.
— Ambition 37
— Personal and mental qualifications 38
— Private Life 39
— Wives and Children 41

CHAP. II.

The undivided Caliphate, or the History of the Rise of the Saracenian Empire.

The reign of Abubeker, the first successor of Mahamined .. 44
Written histories of the Saracens 45
Conquests made by them 47
Abubeker's singular letter to the Arabs 48
Invasion of Syria ..... ib.
Fanaticism of the Saracens 50
Capture of Bosra 51
Saracenian laws of war 53
Siege of Damascus 54
Battle of Aiznadin 55
Capture of Damascus 56
Death of Abubeker 58
Reign of Omar ..... ib.
Capture of Emesa and Baalbec 59
Battle of Yermouk, or Hieromax ..... ib.
Siege of Jerusalem 61

The

Page.
The Caliph's journey thither 62
Its capture 65
Conquest of Aleppo 67
Fall of Antioch 69
Death of Caled 71
Amrou 72
Conquest of Egypt 73
Capture of Alexandria 75
Canal from the Nile to the Red Sea 76
Invasion of Persia ..... *ib.*
Battle of Cadesia 78
Sack of Madyan or Ctesiphon ..... *ib.*
Battle of Jalula 79
——— of Nehavend ..... *ib.*
Conquest of Persia ..... *ib.*
Death of Omar 82
Reign of Othman ..... *ib.*
Invasion of Africa 84
On the names Moors and Barbarians ..... *ib.*
Disaffection to Othman 88
His murder 89
Reign of Ali ..... *ib.*
His character ..... *ib.*
Disaffection to Ali 91
Battle of Bassora, or Day of the Camel 92
Rebellion of Moawiyah 93
Murder of Ali 95
——— of his son Hassan 96
Melancholy fate of Hossein ..... *ib.*
Posterity of Muhammed and Ali 100
Dynasty of the Ommiades 101
Its destruction 103
Dynasty of the Abassides 104
Triple division of the Caliphate ..... *ib.*

Conquest

Page.
Conquest of Africa.. 106
——— of Spain 109
Battle of Gaudalet, and ruin of the Gothic Monarchy.. 112
Conquest of Transoxiana..... 116
The city of Samarcand 117
Submission of China 119
Sieges of Constantinople ..... *ib.*
Invasion of France 121
Charles Martel defeats the Saracens, and saves the Western World 123
Wars between the Greeks and Saracens..... 124
Conquests in the Mediterranean..... 125
Cyprus 126
Rhodes..... *ib.*
Crete..... *ib.*
Corsica..... 127
Sardinia..... *ib.*
Sicily..... 129
Invasion of Rome ..... *ib.*

CHAP. III.

The divided Capliphate; or the History of the Decline and Fall of the Saracenian Empire.

Caliphs of Spain..... 133
Rise of the Christian kingdoms 135
Expulsion of the Moors from Spain 137
State of Spain under the Moors..... 141
Caliphs of Africa and Egypt 144
Morocco 145
Tunis 146
Algiers ..... *ib.*

Successful

Page.
Successful expedition of Charles the Fifth to Tunis .. 148
His unfortunate attempt on Algiers ..... *ib.*
Fatimites of Egypt 151
Saladin 153
Mamlouk kingdom of Egypt 156
Its subjugation by the Turks 157
Peculiarities of the Mamlouks 158
Caliphs of Bagdad 160
Fall of the Abassides ..... *ib.*
Termination of the Caliphate 161
Causes of this event 162
Dismemberment of the Empire ..... *ib.*
Rebellion of the Governors 163
Luxury of the Caliphs 164
Turkish guards 167
Religious discords 168
The Carmathians ..... *ib.*
The Assassins 169

A Dissertation on the Causes of the Success of the Muhammedan Arms and Religion ..... 170—181

CHAP. IV.

The History of the Muhammedan-Tartarian Empires.

Geographical limits of Tartary 181
The character, and mode of life of the Tartars 183
Their invasion of the countries conquered by the Saracens 185
The Muhammedan Dynasties in Hindustan 186
Reign of Mahmud 187
His twelve expeditions into India 188
The Pagoda of Sumnaut 189

Page.
Mahmud's character and death 190
Fall of the Gaznavide Empire and successors of Mahmud in India 191
Timour's invasion of India 193
Mogul Empire 198
Akber ..... *ib.*
Auren Zib 199
Fall of the Mogul Empire 200
Nadir Shah 201
Massacre at Delhi ..... *ib.*
THE REIGNS OF ZINGIS KHAN AND HIS SUCCESSORS... 203
Birth and early life of Zingis 204
His title of Great Khan 206
His invasion of China ..... *ib.*
——— of Korasm and Persia 207
Fate of Gelaleddin 208
Death of Zingis 209
His successors ..... *ib.*
Conquest of China 210
Subjugation of Asia and Europe 212
Fall of the Zingishanidan dynasty 216
EMPIRE OF TAMERLANE 217
Birth of Timour ..... *ib.*
His assumption of the imperial dignity 219
His conquest of Tartary 220
——— of Persia 221
——— of Syria 222
His victory over Bajazet ..... *ib.*
Battle of Angora 224
Timour's treatment of Bajazet 225
Death of Timour 227
Comparative view of the characters of Zingis and Timour 228
THE SELJUKIAN DYNASTIES 233
Reign of Togrol 234

Defeat

Page.
Defeat of the Gaznavides and the subjugation of Persia 236
The Seljuk Turks support the Caliph of Bagdad 237
Togrol appointed Vicegerent of the Moslem world.. *ib.*
His death 240
Reign of Alp Arslan 240
War with the Greek Empire ..... *ib.*
Defeat and capture of the Greek Emperor, Diogenes.. 242
Magnanimity of Alp Arslan to Diogenes 243
Alp Arslan's expedition into Turkestan..... 246
His death..... 247
—— character 248
Remarks on De Guignes and D'Herbelot ..... *ib.*
Reign of Malek Shah 249
The extent of his power..... 250
His character 251
Character and conduct of his minister, Nedham .... *ib.*
Death of Malek 256
Division of the Seljukian Empire ..... *ib.*
Dynasty of Rhoum 257
THE OTHMAN, OR PRESENT TURKISH POWER 259
Origin of the Othmans ..... *ib.*
Reign of Othman 261
His invasion of Bithynia..... *ib.*
Rise of the Othman Empire 262
Reign of Orchan..... *ib.*
—— of Amurath 264
Formation of the Janizaries 265
Reign of Bajazet..... 267
His successors 270
Capture of Constantinople by the Turks 271
Character of the Othman Sultan 272

CHAP. V.

The Koran; or, a view of the Theological, Moral, and Juridical System of the Muselmans.—Muhammedan Sects.

Page.
Principles of Muhammedanism 276
Origin of the Koran ..... *ib.*
Its literary merits..... 278
Its division into chapters and verses 280
Vowel points 281
The Muhammedans' respect for the Koran 282
Manuscripts of the Koran ..... *ib.*
Cufic Manuscripts ..... *ib.*
Literary history of the Koran..... 284
THEOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES OF THE MUSELMANS 290
One God ..... *ib.*
Angels 292
Eternal decrees 293
Prophets and Scriptures 294
Intermediate state of the Soul 296
The future state 299
Resurrection 300
Eternal judgment of Infidels 301
Judgment of the Moslems ..... *ib.*
Retaliation 302
Paradise of the Moslems..... 303
Responsibility of Women 304
MORAL PRINCIPLES OF THE MUSELMANS 305
Prayer ..... *ib.*
The Moslem's Sabbath 307
Ablution 308
The Ritual inferior to the Moral Law 309
Fasting..... 310
Interdiction of meats 312

Almsgiving

Page.
Almsgiving 314
Pilgrimage to Mecca 315
Circumcision 320
Prohibition of Wine 321
Gaming 325
Chess 327
General exhortations to virtue 329
Treaties with Infidels 330
Civil Laws of the Muselmans ..... *ib.*
Marriage and Polygamy 332
Prohibited degrees of marriage 337
Divorce 340
Dowry, infancy, and succession 342
Usury 346
Debts 347
Imprisonment for debt 348
Contracts ..... *ib.*
Monopoly 349
Criminal Laws of the Muselmans ..... *ib.*
Murder 350
Infanticide 352
Adultery 354
Theft 355
Retaliation for personal injuries 358
Laws of Evidence 359
The Moslem Hierarchy and Magistracy 361
Reflections on the value of the Muhammedan religion 364
Muhammedan sects 370

CHAP. VI.

The Literature and Sciences of the Saracens and Turks.

Remarks on Oriental Literature 376
Destruction of the Alexandrian Library 381

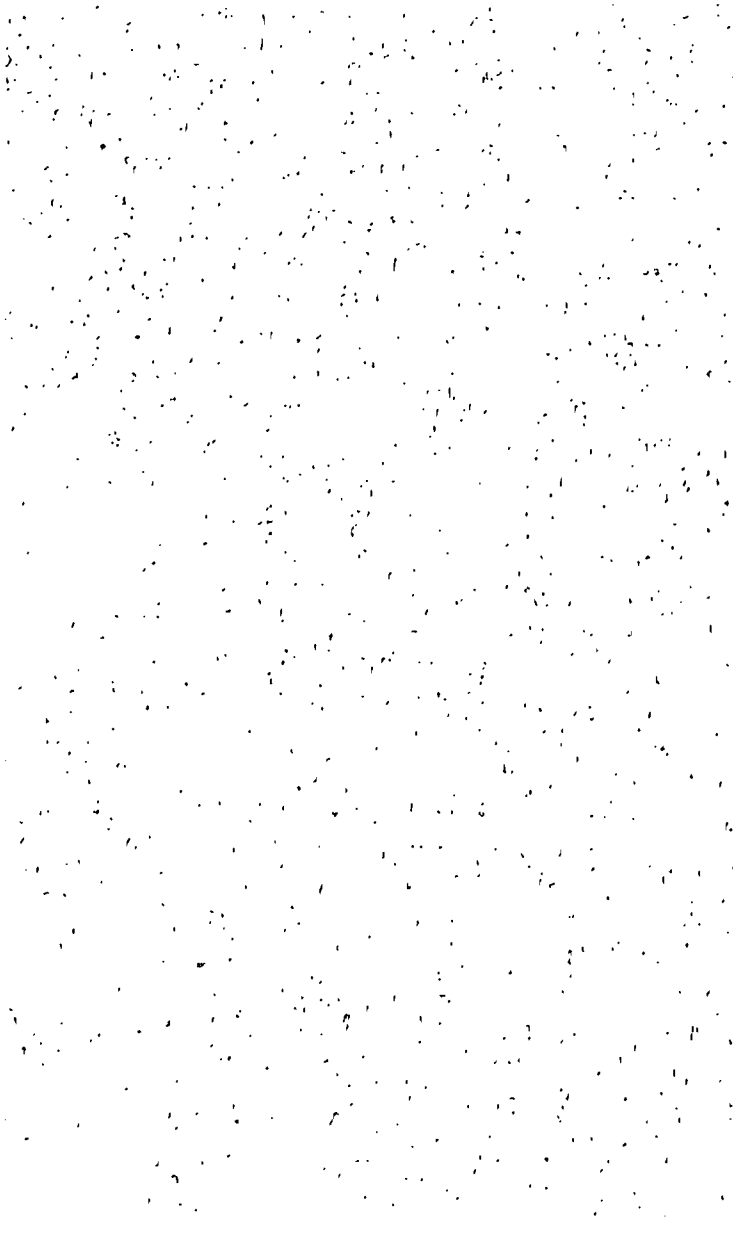
Page.
Introduction of Learning among the Arabians..... 383
Literary Institutions 385
Actual state of Knowledge..... 387
Philosophy of Aristotle ..... *ib.*
The Druses 389
Mathematics..... 390
Algebra 391
Arabic digits ..... *ib.*
Astronomy 392
Anatomy 394
Surgery 395
Chemistry 396
Botany..... 397
Medicine 399
The influence of Conquest on Language 400
The Saracens the introducers of Learning into Europe.. 402
Rhyme..... 405
School of Salernum ..... *ib.*
Literature of Turkey 406
Languages 407
Rhetoric ..... *ib.*
Morality 408
Mathematics..... *ib.*
Science..... 409
Astronomy ..... *ib.*
Astrology..... 410
The fine arts 411
Printing 412

CHAP. VII.

The present State and Extent of the Muhammedan Religion.

Muhammedanism in Tartary 415
——————— China..... 416

Page.
Muhammedanism in Hindustan 417
Character of the Indian Moors 423
Muhammedanism in the Indian Archipelago..... 425
——————— Persia..... 427
——————— Africa..... 433
——————— Arabia 435
The Wahabees 436
Muhammedanism in Turkey 441
Its actual state there 442
Faith..... *ib.*
Predestination ..... *ib.*
The respect of the Turks for religion 444
Purification 445
Prayer 446
The Turkish sabbath 448
Fast of Ramadan..... 450
Pilgrimage to Mecca 451
Interdicted meats 458
Wine ..... *ib.*
Opium 459
Gaming..... 460
Proselytism ..... *ib.*
Toleration 461
The Maronites..... 464
Almsgiving, hospitality, benevolence..... 466
Polygamy..... 469
Divorce..... *ib.*
The Turkish Clergy..... 470
Fanatics, Dervises, and Fakirs 473
Sooffees of Persia 476
Resemblance between Sooffeeism and Platonism 480



AN

HISTORY

OF

MUHAMMEDANISM.

CHAP. I.

THE LIFE OF MUHAMMED.

BOUNDED on the north-west by Syria and Palestine, on the north-east by the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates, on the south-east by the Indian Sea, and on the south-west by the Red Sea, Arabia is, with some propriety, called an island, or peninsula.* Its division by the Greeks and Latins, into the stony, the sandy, and the happy Arabia, expresses, with sufficient accuracy for a general description, the nature of the soil and climate. Immeasurable plains of sand, unrefreshed by the appearance of vegetable or animal life, and mountains, where the tamarind or the acacia alone can grow, characterize the two first divisions of the country. But among the hills of stony Arabia the sacred eminences

Description of Arabia.

 of

* D'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 208—231.

CHAP. I. of Horeb and Sinai are traced, and in the midst of Arabia deserta, Mecca and Medina appear. The former of these cities, encompassed mostly by sterile lands, draws its riches and even much of its subsistence from distant places.* On the Arabian shores of the Persian gulf we may mark the isle of Tylos, and the town of Gerra or El-Katif as famous in ancient and modern times; the one for its pearl fishery, and the other for its commerce in the perfumes which were brought from the Sabian country, transported up the Euphrates to Thapsacus, and across the desert to Petra. The various bounties of nature to the mountains near the Indian Ocean, have procured for the southern part of Arabia the epithet of happy. The coffee tree will always attract the merchant to the province of Yemèn, the Arabic name for this portion of the country. The regularity of the climate, the elevation of the land, and the moisture of the soil, are more favourable to the growth of the plant, than the situation of any other region where it has been hitherto cultivated.† From the shores of the peninsula, the Egyptian merchants, whose jealous policy excluded foreigners from

* Abul-Pharajius, de origine et moribus Arabum, Arab. Lat. cum notis Ed. Pocockii, p. 125—128, 4to. Oxon. 1650.—Shaw's Travels, p. 383, fo. 1738.

† Niebuhr attributes the badness of the American coffee tree to its growth in sultry, dry situations.

from their own coasts, exported gold and incense, and Arabia enjoyed the reputation of exclusively possessing commodities, which the more fertile territory of India in reality produced. Gold mines never existed, or have long since disappeared, and it is from the Indian Archipelago, that the Arabians draw the greatest part of their aromatics, and export them into Turkey, through the gulfs of Arabia and Persia.* CHAP. I.

In a country where the means of subsistence are few, population can never be great. In speaking of the Arabs, a distinction must be made between the husbandmen and the shepherds; the former description always live on the same soil, submit themselves to regular government, and enjoy something like a social state. Such are the inhabitants of Yemen, and the descendants of the ancient Arabian conquerors, who partly constitute the population of Syria, Egypt, and the Barbary states.† The tribes of the desert, like the Scythian hordes, wander incessantly with their sheep, their horses, and their camels, in quest of the few spots of pasturage, with which nature occasionally mitigates the dreariness of the plains, and the Icthyop- The inhabitants.

 hagi

* D'Anville, ubi supra; and Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, passim.

† Abul-Pharajius, p. 2—5.—Volney, Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte, tome 1, p. 345, &c.

CHAP. I. hagi have in every age sought a miserable and precarious livelihood on the shores of the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Ocean. But Arabs are spread over the Asiatic and African worlds, and, like the Jews, preserve among every nation their own peculiar language and customs. From the river Senegal to the Indus, from the Euphrates to Mosambique and Madagascar, tribes of Bedoweens (the term meaning a man of the desert), or pastoral Arabians exist, and maintain the character of their ancestors for fierceness and rapacity. In every country of the east where Arabians live, they form a striking contrast to the native inhabitants. Their eyes are full of vivacity, their speech voluble and articulate, their deportment manly and dignified, their apprehension quick, their minds always present and attentive, with a spirit of freedom appearing in the countenances of even the lowest among them.*

In the sixth century, the Jews and Christians had their synagogues and churches in Arabia. In this land of freedom the Magians reverenced and practised the doctrines of Zoroaster, and the Sabians adored their planetary deities. The worship of the sun, moon, and fixed stars, was the primitive religion of the Arabs, and was a system naturally formed and adopted by a people,

Their religion.

* Niebuhr, and Jones on the Arabs.

ple, who in travelling through immense deserts, contemplated, and were guided by the regularity of the motions of the heavenly bodies. The purer and more sublime principle of religion, the existence of a future state, was shewn in their fancies respecting the transmigration of souls, and the camel left to perish near the tomb of his master testified their belief of a general resurrection.* CHAP. I.

Polities and government.

The kingdom of Yemen has been successively subdued by the Abyssinians, the Persians, the Sultans of Egypt, and the Turks. Mecca and Medina have often been the prey of a Scythian tyrant, but the country at large has never been conquered. Its peninsular situation defended the southern, eastern, and western, sides: the armies which constituted the strength of the Assyrian and Persian empires would, from ignorance of the situation of the springs of water, have

* Abul-Pharajius, p. 5—17, et notæ p. 89, 150. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, partie 1, tom. 2. The idolatry of the Arabs and the Sabians was not the same: their systems sprung perhaps from the same principles and causes, and some parts amalgamated. Sale, in the first section of his Preliminary Discourse, correctly describes the ancient idolatry of the Arabians, but erroneously calls it Sabianism. For a description of Sabianism, the curious reader may consult the Specimen Historiæ Arabum of Pocock, p. 138—146. D'Herbelot, Bib. Orient. tom. 3, p. 145—6. 4to. edition, 1777. and Maimonides More Nevochim. pars 3. cap. 29.

CHAP. I. perished in the desert in the centre of the country, and even the victories of Trajan, though celebrated by flatterers as followed by the conquest of Arabia, were not heard of except at some of the most northern parts. The form of government among the Arabs is purely patriarchal. A family of a tribe exercises the office of sovereignty; it is true that the order of succession is frequently violated, but the reciprocal duties of allegiance and protection are indissoluble.* "The cities of Mecca and Medina," says Mr. Gibbon in the fiftieth chapter of his history, "present in the heart of Asia, the "form, or rather the substance, of a common-"wealth. The grandfather of Muhammed and "his lineal ancestors appear in foreign and do-"mestic transactions, as the princes of their "country; but they reigned like Pericles at "Athens, or the Medici at Florence, by the "opinion of their wisdom and integrity: their "influence was divided with their patrimony, "and the sceptre was transferred from the "uncles of the Prophet, to a younger branch "of the tribe of the Koreish. On solemn oc-"casions they convened the assembly of the "people, and since mankind must be either "compelled or persuaded to obey, the use and "reputation of oratory among the ancient "Arabs

* Sale's Prelim. Discourse, sect. 1.

" Arabs is the clearest evidence of public free- CHAP. I.
" dom. But their simple liberty was of a very
" different cast, from the nice and artificial ma-
" chinery of the Greek and Roman republics, in
" which, each member possessed an undivided
" share of the civil and political rights of the
" community. In the more simple state of the
" Arabs the nation is free, because each of her
" sons disdains a base submission to the will of a
" master. His breast is fortified with the austere
" virtues of courage, patience, and temperance;
" the love of independence prompts him to
" exercise the habits of self-command, and the
" fear of dishonour guards him from the meaner
" apprehensions of pain, of danger, and of
" death."

Family of Muhammed.

Of all the various tribes of the Arabians, that of the Koreish held the most distinguished rank. From Adnan to Ishmael the son of Abraham, and patriarch of the nation, the Arabians confess that the genealogy of this tribe is involved in fable. But the pedigree from Adnan to Muhammed, preserved with all the care which can be bestowed upon an historical document (and in Asia pedigrees form the histories of nations), presents a long line of illustrious ancestors.* To them had been consigned the honourable

* Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tome 32, page 406.

CHAP. I. office of guarding the Caaba, or square temple at Mecca, and their supremacy in religious affairs in this metropolis of Arabia was accompanied with submission or respect to their temporal sway. Hasĉhem, the reigning pontiff and prince at the commencement of the sixth century, raised the city under his government to a state of activity and opulence, by the establishment of two caravans of commercial produce; one for Syria, and the other for South Arabia. His son Abdol-Motalleb delivered his country from the yoke of the Christian princes of Abyssinia. His patriotism was gratified by the political and commercial aggrandisement of Mecca, and his domestic life was cheered by the Asiatic felicity and honour of a family of six daughters and ten sons. Of this numerous progeny Abdallah was his youngest and best beloved; and the marriage of this youth with Amina, the fairest ornament of the noble tribe of the Zarites, gave birth to the victorious enthusiast of the East. The dawn of Muhammed's fame was overspread by many clouds, which the co-operating power of genius and opportunity enabled him to dispel. The patrimony of Abdallah was small, and had not been improved by commerce into wealth. His death happened in the early infancy of his son; and on the division of his inheritance the share of the

Birth of Muhammed, A.D. 569.

His youth.

the future lord of Arabia consisted only of five camels and one Ethiopian female slave.* The childhood

* Gagnier, vie de Mahomet, traduite et compilée de l'Alcoran; des traditions authentiques de la Sonna et des meilleurs auteurs Arabes. Amsterdam, 2 tom. 8vo. introd. part 2. et livre 1 chap. 1. All the Arabian and Persian MSS. on the history of the Saracens, contain accounts of Muhammed. None of them are of great antiquity. The industry of D'Herbelot discovered and used the Saracenian histories by Novari and Mircond, writers of the eighth and ninth centuries of the Hegira. These books formed the basis of the article Muhammed in the Bibliothèque Orientale. The best Life in Arabic of Muhammed that has yet been discovered is by Abulfeda, a contemporary writer with Novari, and who was an Emir at Hamah in Syria. Abulfeda is a judicious and candid author; his work bears internal testimony of truth. Pocock (from whom it is not often safe to differ) gives him unqualified praise—See Pocock's Preface to his translation of Abul-Pharajius. About the commencement of the last century, Abulfeda was translated into Latin, and illustrated by valuable notes, by John Gagnier, the Arabic professor at Oxford; a Frenchman by birth, of a Calvinistic family. See Dic. Hist. Lyons, 1804. Gagnier also published another Life of Muhammed. Al-Jannabi, a writer of the sixteenth century of our æra, was the principal source of this latter work of Gagnier, and disgusts the reader by fables. Of the lives of Muhammed compiled from various authors, and not mere translations from one manuscript, that of Savary is the best. It will not be easy to apportion the quantum of demerit in Prideaux and Maracci. Savary is sensible, mild, and impartial; Maracci is violent, Prideaux is dull, and both are always prejudiced. There is a well written paper on the

Written lives of Muhammed.

CHAP. I. childhood of Muhammed was soon deprived of maternal solicitude, and the care of him was consigned to his venerable grandfather, Abdol-Motalleb. This faithful protector soon sunk under the weight of years, and Muhammed became a member of the family of his uncle Abu-Taleb. By this royal merchant, who in the quality of eldest son of Abdol-Motalleb, enjoyed the dignity of pontiff of the Temple and prince of Mecca, he was instructed in the arts of war and trade; he accompanied him in his journies to the fairs of Syria, and fought with him in the conflicts between the Arabian tribes.* But he remained in comparative obscurity till the age of twenty-five, when the office of factor to Kadijah, the widow of a wealthy trader (for commerce was honourable among the Arabians), and the possession of her hand and fortune, with which she soon rewarded his fidelity, raised

His Marriage.

establishment of the religion and empire of Muhammed, by M. Brequigny, in the 32d volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. From the translations by Gagnier, from Savary's Life, and M. Brequigny's Paper, with occasional references to D'Herbelot, and to Gibbon, (the latter of whom seems in his remarks on Muhammed always to have Savary in view) the following sketch of the life of Muhammed has been drawn.

* Abulfeda, de vita et rebus gestis Muhammedi. Ar. Lat. a J. Gagnier, ch. i.—vi. fol. Oxon. 1743. Gagnier, tom. 1, ch. 4.

ed him to an equality with the proudest mer- CHAP. I.
chants of Mecca.*

His youth had been always remarkable for a serious deportment, and strict attention to devotional exercises; and so general was the reputation of his piety, that on the finding in the well Zemzen of the black stone, which, it is said, the angel Gabriel brought to Abraham when he built the Caaba, the people unanimously deferred to the grandson of Abdol-Motalleb the honour of replacing it in its station. In a life of leisure and independence he indulged the fancies of his genius, and every year in the month of Ramadan, he retired for the purposes of fasting, prayer, and meditation, to the cave in Mount Hara, near Mecca. His charity, his frugality, procured for him universal respect, and these periodical retreats exalted the feelings of the Arabians into veneration. A mode of life such as this could not fail to increase the fanaticism of an imagination naturally sanguine. The ardour of his enthusiasm, nourished for fifteen years by pious practices and solitary meditation, urged him to proclaim himself a prophet, sent by heaven to preach the unity of the

* Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. 32, p. 413. Abul-Pharajius, p. 6.

CHAP. I.

the Godhead, and to restore to its purity the religion of Abraham and Ishmael.*

He founds a new religion. A. D. 609.

A pretended intercourse with the deity is the surest proof of fanaticism. When the year of his mission was arrived, his family accompanied him to the place of his retirement. In the night, he affirmed, the angel Gabriel had appeared to him, and given him the title of the apostle of God. Kadijah declared that he was the Prophet of her nation, a man blessed with the same Spirit as that which had been bestowed upon the law-giver Moses.† The infusing of the spirit of fanaticism into his wife was followed by the conversion, though of suspicious sincerity, of his slave Zeid; and the youthful ardour of Ali, the son of Abu-Taleb, embraced with credulity the opinions of his friend and cousin. Abu-Beker, a respectable citizen of Mecca, and friend of Muhammed, lent his name to the advancement of the new religion, and at his solicitation five of the principal men of Mecca were converted. Influenced by their example, or directly convinced of the truth, five other citizens renounced

His first converts.

* Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. 32, p. 413—414.

† Abulfeda, Vita Mahom. ch. 7. Gagnier, ch. 8.

ced Idolatry.* Encouraged by this success (slow in its arrival as it must have appeared to the warm fancy of an enthusiast) Muhammed, at the close of three years from his assumption of the prophetic office, developed and publicly asserted his pretensions. At an entertainment given by Ali to the family of Haschem, the Prophet declared to his assembled friends, that it was in his power to bestow upon them the most precious of gifts, happiness in the present, and in a future life. "The Almighty," he continued, "has commanded me to call you "unto him. Who then among you will assist "me to support my burthen? who among you "will be my brother and my vizier?" The assembly held a silence of astonishment and contempt. But his cousin Ali, who had paused in expectation that some chief of the family would have embraced the offer with transport, frantically exclaimed, "O Apostle of God, I "am the man; and I will beat out the teeth, "pull out the eyes, rip up the belly, and break "the legs, of all that oppose you; I will be "your vizier over them." The Prophet threw his arms round the neck of his fanatical proselyte, and blessed him as his brother, his ambassador, his deputy. In vain did Abu-Taleb, by exhortation and reproof, attempt to dissuade,

CHAP. I.

He preaches at Mecca A. D. 612.

or

* Abulfeda, ch. 18.

CHAP. I. or prohibit his son and his nephew from a continuance in their enthusiastic folly. "No," said the fanatic Muhammed, "though the sun "were set against me on my right hand, and "the moon on my left, I would not swerve "from my course." The venerable patriarch deplored the errors of his relatives, but resolved to protect their persons from the malice and animosity of his tribe.*

Having once declared himself a delegate from God, Muhammed was not of a disposition indolently or indifferently to await his acceptance or rejection by his countrymen. He laboured incessantly to convince them of the reality of his mission. In his public harangues upon the mysteries and duties of religion, he called upon them to renounce their idolatry, and to embrace the more pure, simple, and reasonable belief of the unity of God. By the promise of a paradise, filled with gratifications of the senses and the imagination, he endeavoured to captivate a people, attached, above all others, to the charms of women and nature. His discourses on religion formed, when collected, the body of that volume, distinguished by the appellation of the Koran.

Progress of his religion.

The work of conversion advanced with tardy steps. When he argued from the excellency of his

* Abulfeda, chap. 8.

his doctrine to its divinity, and dwelt upon the inimitable beauty of the language of the Koran, the people called aloud for miracles. The Prophet told them that though Moses and Jesus had proved the heavenly origin of their missions by the exhibition of supernatural powers, yet that the world was lost in unbelief, and miracles were fruitless. "Let the angel Gabriel make "delicious gardens for us in the midst of the "desert," said his taunting enemies, "let the "powers of heaven transport us and our mer- "chandize in a moment to the fairs of Syria." "No," replied Muhammed, "though a Koran "were revealed, by which mountains could be "removed, or the earth travelled as quickly as "the wish was formed, or if the dead should be "commanded to speak, it would be in vain." "All things are in my power," he continued, "but incredulity to the evidence of miracles "is an unpardonable offence: my affection for "you exceeds my wishes for your conversion, "and will not permit me to risk the salvation of "your souls, by offering you a testimony, "which your present sceptical habit of mind "makes me think it is possible you may "reject.*"

CHAP. I.

Still the people were importunate: and the pretended

* D'Herbelot, Bib. Orient. Art. Aiat. Koran, chap. 13, 17, and Sale's Notes.

CHAP. I. pretended apostle of God, though he had too much policy to endanger the credit of his cause, by prophecies which were to be speedily fulfilled, or by commanding the obedience of the powers of nature, yet presuming on his reputation for veracity, solemnly assured his disciples, that the veil between him and the Almighty had been removed, and that he had been transported to the heaven of heavens. On a white beast, less than a mule, but larger than an ass, Muhammed was conveyed from the temple of Mecca to that of Jerusalem; with his companion Gabriel he successively ascended the seven heavens, and received and repaid the salutations of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the angels, in their respective mansions. Beyond the seventh heaven, Muhammed alone was permitted to proceed: he passed the veil of unity, approached within two bow shots of the throne, and felt a cold that pierced him to the heart when his shoulder was touched by the hand of God. The deity commanded him to pray fifty times a day. By the advice of Moses, he applied for an alleviation of this intolerable burthen: the obligation was gradually relaxed, until the number was settled at five. After this familiar, though important conversation, he descended to Jerusalem, and remounting the mysterious animal returned to Mecca: thus performing

forming in the tenth part of a night, the journey of many thousand years. The venerable Abubeker vouched for the authenticity of the story, and the people were either silenced or convinced.*

The Koreish persecute Muhammed.

Tales of this marvellous nature were well adapted to the imagination of an ignorant, unphilosophical Arab, and assisted the progress of a revolution, which enthusiasm founded, and fraud had enlarged. The Koreish persecuted the new sect with the bitterest hate, and persecution had its usual effect of strengthening the numbers and energies of the oppressed. A personal animosity against an enemy of Muhammed induced Hamza, an uncle of the Prophet, to embrace his cause,† and his zealous opponent, Omar, was changed into one of his firmest

* D'Herbelot's Bib. Orient. articles Merage and Borak. Abulfeda, ch. 18, 19. Gagnier, lib. 2, ch. 14; and Gibbon, ch. 50. The disciples have not imitated the modesty of their master. They have attributed to him more than three thousand miracles. Maracci, tom. 1, p. 22—64, refutes them in his usual ridiculous manner of mixed gravity and indignation. But it does not appear that the faith of the learned doctors among the Muselmans is so general and unlimited as that of the vulgar; and even the notable night journey story is frittered away by many of them into a mere dream or vision. See Pocock's Notes, Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 190—194. Savary's Life of Muhammed, p. 37. Sale's notes 17th ch. Koran.

† Abulfeda, ch. 9.

CHAP. I. friends. His fame extended to Medina, and three nocturnal conferences with his new proselytes secured their allegiance and fidelity. The people of Medina offered him an asylum, inquiring however, whether, if he was recalled by his countrymen, he would not abandon his new allies? "All things," replied the admirable politician, "are now common between us: "your blood is as my blood, your ruin as my "ruin. We are bound to each other by the "ties of honour and of interest. I am your "friend, and the enemy of your foes." "But," said his trembling disciples, "if we are killed "in your service, what will be our reward?" "Paradise," cried Muhammed. The martial spirit of his hearers was roused, their sensual passions were inflamed, and their faith was confirmed.*

In the character of Pontiff of the national religion, Abu-Taleb endeavoured to repel the attempt at innovation, and urged the citizens of Mecca and the pilgrims of the temple to adhere to the worship of Al-Lata and Al-Uzzah. Yet, as uncle of Muhammed, he protected the person of the sectary, and the two parties were equally balanced, till the Koreish pledged themselves to have neither social nor

* Albufeda, ch. 30, 33, 40, 86. Gagnier, liv. 1, ch. 15, 16.

nor commercial transactions with the family of Haschem, so long as Muhammed, the violator of the national religion, remained unpunished. Eighty-three men and sixteen women fled for refuge to the King of Ethiopia,* who generously protected the strangers, while their friends at Mecca were sinking under persecution. By the death at this period of the faithful Abu-Taleb and the generous Kadijah, Muhammed was deprived at once, of his chief political support and his only domestic solace. A member of the house of Ommyiah, a declared enemy of the family of Haschem, succeeded to the guardianship of the Caaba; and the Koreish resolved on the extermination of the new religion, by the murder of its author; but the secret of the plot was divulged, and Muhammed with his friend Abu-Beker escaped in the silence of the night. The confederated murderers surrounded the house, but their generosity was appealed to and awakened, by the reclining figure of Ali on the bed, clad in the Prophet's green garment, and calmly awaiting that death which was meditated for his friend. In the morning when they discovered the flight of the object of their hate, they quitted the house and took the road to Medina. In the recesses of a cave near Mecca, Muhammed and Abu-Beker eluded for three days the pursuit of their

CHAP. I.

Flight from Mecca. A.D. 622.

* Gagnier, liv. 1, ch. 10.

CHAP. I.

their enemies. "There are only two of us," said the disciple, in apprehension that the searching eyes of his foes would penetrate the retreat. "There is a third," replied his master, "even God himself, and he will defend us." The protecting favour of the angel Gabriel, say the Arabian writers, shrouded the fugitives, and after a perilous journey along the sea-coast, they reposed themselves at Koba near Medina. On the succeeding morning, five hundred of the richest inhabitants of this second city of Arabia advanced to meet him. Seated on a camel, under the shade of a parasol of palm leaves, with a turban unfolded for a standard, and cheered by the plaudits of his admiring friends and converted idolators, his entry into Medina, though a faint representation of the pomp and pride of kings, was no feeble proof of the sincerity and devotion of his disciples.*

Entry into Medina. A. D. 622.

In

* Abulfeda, ch. 24. Gagnier, liv. 3, ch. 1. The Hegira, or flight of Muhammed from Mecca to Medina, is the epoch of the Muhammedan nations. Omar, the second Caliph, instituted the hegira in imitation of the Christians, who counted their years from their persecution by Diocletian (A. D. 284) and who called it the era of the martyrs. Thus the Muselmans wished to commence their calculation of time from the period of the most memorable persecution they had suffered. The learned Muselman astronomers have been divided in opinion on the exact year of the Christians, which corresponds with the hegira. But the generality of writers place this epoch on Friday, the 16th

The date of the hegira.

CHAP. I.

In Medina he assumed the sacerdotal and regal office. In the mosque, with his back against a palm tree, or in a rough unadorned pulpit, he declaimed against the idolatry of his nation, and breathed into his hearers the soul of enthusiasm, and in the camp without the walls, the ambassadors from Mecca remarked that he was treated with more respect than the Chrosoes of Persia, or the Cæsars of Constantinople. Three years had been occupied at Mecca in privately gaining fourteen proselytes, and in the ten succeeding years Muhammed, amidst distress and opposition, publicly preached his religion, and gradually enlarged the number of his followers. But when he was settled in Medina his power seemed to be consolidated; friends and foes were no longer mixed as they had been at Mecca.

He propagates his religion by the sword and retaliates on the Koreish.

of July, A. D. 622. The ancient Arabs counted time by solar months, these months always returned in the same season, and their names corresponded with the employments which the seasons rendered necessary. Since the epoch of the hegira was fixed, the Muselmans count time by lunar months; the Arabian year consisting of 354 days, 8 hours, and 48 minutes. The intercalary days are adjusted by a cycle of 30 lunar years, of which 19 are of 354 days, and 11 of 355 days. The years of excess are in the following order:—2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 15, 18, 21, 24, 26, 29. D'Herbelot's Bib. Orient. Art. Hegira. De Guigne's Histoire Génér. des Huns, tom. 1. p. 43. Marsden on the Hegira, p. 8. Thirty-two of our years are nearly equal to thirty-three Muhammedan years.

CHAP. I. All his converts surrounded him at Medina, and formed a numerous band. No wonder therefore, that the humble though zealous preacher became changed into a malignant persecutor. The mild voice of persuasion accorded not with the ardour of his bigotry and fanaticism. The angel Gabriel commanded him to propagate his religion by warfare. The eighth and ninth chapters of the Koran, preached for the first time at Medina, breathe the strongest spirit of pride, power, and rancorous intolerance; and liberty of conscience was no longer granted, except on the severe and degrading terms of a heavy pecuniary tribute. The injuries with which the Koreish had afflicted the new religion could never be forgiven, for of all the people of the east, the Arabs are those who are most addicted to retaliation and revenge. The predatory disposition of the armed sectaries was encouraged by the prospect of spoil; one-fifth of the captured property was appropriated to the service of the altar, and the remainder was to be faithfully distributed among the soldiers; but as the strength of an Arabian army consists in its cavalry, a double portion of the booty rewarded the toils of the horsemen. The grossness of the soldier's sensuality was encouraged by the promise of the possession of the female captives, and their religious enthusiasm was preserved by the

the prospect of a crown of martyrdom: "The "sword," exclaimed the Prophet, "is the key "of heaven and of hell; a drop of blood shed in "the cause of God, a night spent under arms, "is of more avail than two months of fasting "and prayer: whosoever falls in battle his sins "are forgiven: at the day of judgment his "wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion and "odoriferous as musk, and the loss of his limbs "shall be replaced by wings of angels and "cherubims."* The stroke of death would fall upon a man, at his appointed hour, whether he should be found in the field of battle or in his bed. No caution or foresight could avert his destiny, and both danger and safety were out of his control. CHAP. I.

Impelled by these motives to courage the soldiers of Muhammed were invincible. The caravans of merchandise which the Koreish transported from Syria to Mecca were insulted and plundered, and the indignation of his former persecutors was raised to the highest pitch against the rebel and fugitive. The numerous forces of the Koreish and their allies were directed against him; but the battles of Beder, Ohud, and the Nations, proved that enthusiasm is undismayed by any disparity of numbers, and that the power of Muhammed could not be shaken. Wars with the Arabians and Jews. A.D. 623-625.

* Koran, ch. 3, 8.

CHAP. I.

Battle of Beder.

shaken. Detailed accounts of his engagements would, to most readers, be void of interest; but the event of that of Beder was so entirely dependent on his enthusiasm, or exquisite artifice, that the circumstances must be shortly noticed. His army was far inferior to that of the Koreish, and as the enemy descended into the valley of Beder, he exclaimed, "O God! if my "friends are destroyed, by whom wilt thou be "worshipped upon the earth? Courage, my "children; close your ranks, discharge your "arrows, and the day is your own." With his friend Abu-Beker he placed himself on a throne of wood, safe from the javelins of the enemy, and prayed for the power of heaven, in the appearance of Gabriel and three thousand angels. At the very moment when the courage of his men was well nigh exhausted, Muhammed left his place of shelter, mounted his horse, and casting a handful of sand in the air, cried aloud, "Let their faces be covered with con-"fusion." His gestures and language roused the enthusiasm of his troops; they shouted the war cry, "Allah Ackbar," and the Koreish were totally defeated.* The pacific Jews of Arabia, who had sought refuge in this country of freedom, were massacred and pillaged; their towns and villages were sacked by the cruel fanatic.

A. D. 627.

* Abulfeda, ch. 27. Koran, ch. 8.

natic. Their riches furnished him with the means of arming his followers, and his thirst of blood was gratified by the death and burial of hundreds of these unhappy people in one common grave.*

To the capture of Mecca the exile and fugitive from it was invited by rapacity and pride. A truce for ten years† betrayed his own weakness, and the power of the Koreish. His hands, however, being strengthened by new converts, the truce was violated, and at the end of seven years from his flight, the Prophet was acknowledged in his native city, as the chief ecclesiastical and civil magistrate.‡ The idols which disgraced the Caaba were destroyed; an irreversible law was made, that no unbeliever should ever enter or dwell in Mecca, though he might pass as a traveller through the province of Hedsjas, in which the towns of Mecca and Medina are situated.§ He pitied the fallen grandeur, or respected the valour of the Koreish. "What mercy can you expect from the "man whom you have wronged?" demanded Muhammed from his prostrate enemies. "We "trust

Re-enters Mecca. A. D. 629.

* The wars of Muhammed with the Arabians and Jews are detailed in Abulfeda, ch. 27 to ch. 42, and ch. 45, 54, 56. In the Caliphate of Omar the Jews were totally banished from Arabia.

† Gagnier, liv. 6, ch. 4. ‡ Abulfeda, ch. 51.

§ Reland, Dissert. Misc. tom. 3, p. 21.

CHAP. I.

" trust to the magnanimity of our kinsman," was the answer of the suppliants. " Nor shall " you trust in vain," said the apostle of a merciful God. " Begone, you are safe, you are " free." The tribes of the desert, subdued by the arms, or allured by the promises of the Prophet, made their submissions to him, and the ambassadors at Medina " outnumbered the " dates that fall from the maturity of a palm " tree." The Hawazanites and the citizens of Tayif contended for their independence; but their armies were defeated, their idols destroyed, and their forced acknowledgment of Muhammed completed the uncommon spectacle, of unity in religion and government in Arabia.

A. D. 632.

Wars with the Romans, A.D. 629.

While established in sovereignty at Mecca and Medina, the new preacher had endeavoured to extend the revolution to the princes and people of the adjacent countries.* But his messenger to the governor of Bosra, near Damascus, was taken and murdered by Sherhiel, an emir of a Christian and Arabian tribe, tributary to Heraclius, the Greek emperor. The injury was trifling, but the insult was great. Three thousand men were immediately equipped; the Prophet exhorted them to bravery in the cause of the Most High, painted in glowing colours the joys of an earthly and heavenly paradise,

* Abulfeda, ch. 46.

dise, the reward of such Moslems who were victorious or were slain; yet urged them to collect their wealth, not from the tears of the provincials, but from the public treasure of the enemy. "In avenging my injuries," said he, "molest not "the harmless votaries of domestic seclusion; "spare the weakness of the softer sex, the in- "fant at the breast, and those who in the "course of nature are hastening from this scene "of mortality. Abstain from demolishing the "dwellings of the unresisting inhabitants; de- "stroy not their means of subsistence, respect "their fruit trees, and touch not the palm, so "useful to the Syrians for its shade, and de- "lightful for its verdure." In the village of Mutah, and district of Belka, to the south of Damascus, the band of fanatics met the assembled Roman and Syrian armies. The three generals of the Moslems, the manumised Zeid, Jauffer, and Abdallah, appointed by Muhammed to succeed each other in case of loss, were successively slain in this battle, which first tried the valour of the Muselmans against a foreign enemy.* "Zeid," says Mr. Gibbon, "fell like "a soldier

Battle of Mutah.

* I seize the earliest occasion of stating the acceptation of a few words which are in frequent use in Muhammedan history. — Eslam, or Islamism, means the total resignation of body and soul to God. It also means the Muhammedan world. It is, therefore, of the same acceptation among the Muhammedans as the words Chris-

Of the terms Eslam, Moslem, Muselman, and Saracen.

CHAP. I.

" a soldier in the foremost ranks. The death " of Jauffer was heroic and memorable: he " lost his right hand; he shifted the standard " to his left; the left was severed from his " body; he embraced the standard with his " bleeding stumps, till he was transfixed to the " ground with fifty honourable wounds. 'Ad- " vance!' cried Abdallah, who stept into the " vacant place, 'advance with confidence; vic- " tory or paradise is our own.' The lance of " a Roman decided the alternative; but the " falling standard was preserved by Caled, a " new proselyte: nine swords were broken in " his hand; and his valour withstood and re- " pulsed the superior numbers of the Chris- " tians."

tianity and Christendom among Christians. Moslem, or Muselman, is a legitimate or corrupt derivation from Eslam, and is the common name of Muhammedans without distinction of sect or opinion, In grammatical accuracy, Moslem is the singular of the word, Muselman is the dual, and Muselminn the plural. But in conformity with the usage of the best writers, I shall use the words Moslem and Muselman in the singular, and Moslems and Muselmans in the plural. Muselmen is decidedly wrong, and has never been used by any author of note. D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. under the different articles, and D'Ohsson, Tab. Gén. tom. 1, p. 36.—Of the various definitions of the word Saracen, I prefer the Arabic word Saraini, which means a pastoral people. The corruption from Saraini to Saracini can be easily imagined. See Casiri's Bibliot. Arab. Hisp. tom. 2, p. 18.

"tians." The night closed upon the enemy as masters of the field; but in the morning, the skilful dispositions which Caled made of his troops, struck a panic into the Emperor's army. The Saracens were victorious, and returned to Medina with the honours, and some of the rewards of conquest.* The Moslem cause was highly benefited by the skill and intrepidity of Caled, whose zeal and courage procured for him the title of *the sword of God.*† CHAP. I.

Ineffectual invasion of Syria, A.D. 630.

Feelings of ambition or revenge prompted Muhammed, in the full possession of power, to carry his ravages into the rich and fertile land of Syria; but the public treasures were insufficient for the charge of so long and so tedious a march. The enthusiasm of his friends could not, however, be restrained; Abu-Beker appropriated the whole of his possessions for the purposes of the holy war; Omar and Othman supplied camels and gold; the women contributed their jewels, and sacrificed their vanity at the shrine of patriotism. An army of ten thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, and twelve thousand camels, was collected; the Prophet appeared in the field, clad in his green vestment and seated on his white mule; to the charge of Abu-Beker was intrusted the principal standard, and the intrepid

* Gagnier, lib. 5, ch. 12.

† Abulfeda, ch. 48, note b; chap. 49, note d.

CHAP. I. trepid Caled commanded the advanced guard. From Medina, this formidable array of war departed to exterminate the religion and power of the Greeks. But the fatigue of the march through the desert, in the heats of summer, was insupportable. The pestilential winds raised the sand into clouds, which enveloped and destroyed whole squadrons of the army. The springs yielded not their usual supply, and the camels were put to death for the sake of the store of water which these peculiar animals can contain. "Hell is hotter than the heat of the "desert," said the courageous Muhammed to his sinking comrades; but large bodies of the army deserted his standard, and the constancy of the remainder was preserved by his assurance, that if the deserters had possessed one particle of virtue, they would nobly have met their destiny. Near the grove and fountain of Tabouc, on the confines of Syria, his exhausted army reposed. A council of war was held, and the inspired messenger from heaven deigned to confess, that in the instance of this expedition, his own inclinations, and not the suggestions of Gabriel, had guided him. His friend and confidant Omar expatiated on the power of the Roman emperor of the east, that it could be ruined only by degrees, and declared that as the terror of Muhammed's name was

extended

extended thus far, the seeds of alarm were sown, which a future war would ripen. The Prophet acknowledged the wisdom of this opinion, and a return to Medina was immediately ordered.* CHAP. I.

During the next two years, he preached his religion at Medina; he accompanied one hundred and fourteen thousand proselytes in their pilgrimage to Mecca; and he sent his lieutenants to carry on the work of conversion by the sword. To the age of sixty-three years, the strength of Muhammed was equal to the temporal and spiritual fatigue of his mission. We may treat with contempt both the calumny of the Greeks, that he was subject to the epilepsy, and the absurd opinions of his friends that God's denunciations of misery to the wicked made him prematurely old:† but he seriously believed that he was poisoned at Chaibar, by the revenge of a Jewish female. The health of the Prophet declined, and his mortal disease was a bilious fever of fourteen days, which deprived him by intervals of the use of reason. As soon as he was conscious of his danger, he edified his brethren by the humility of his

Death of Muhammed, A.D. 632. 7 June.

* Abulfeda, ch. 56.

† Hottinger, Hist. Orient. lib. i. ch. 2. Harleian MSS. cod. 6189. Sale's notes on chapters 73 and 74 of the Koran. Mischat ul Musabih, vol. 2, p. 530.

CHAP. I. his penitence or his virtue. "If there be "any man," said the apostle from the pulpit, "whom I have unjustly scourged, I submit "mine own back to the lash of retaliation. "Have I aspersed the reputation of a Musel- "man? let him proclaim my faults in the face "of the congregation. Has any one been des- "poiled of his goods? the little that I possess "shall compensate the principal and interest of "the debt."—"Yes," replied a voice from the crowd, "I am entitled to three drachms of "silver." Muhammed heard, and satisfied the demand with interest, thanking at the same time his creditor, for having accused him in this world rather than at the day of judgment. "God," he added, "offers to mankind the en- "joyment either of this world, or of the world "to come. I prefer eternal to temporal feli- "city." He beheld with temperate firmness the approach of death; according to the custom of the princes of his country enfranchised his slaves; minutely directed the order of his funeral, and moderated the lamentations of his weeping friends, on whom he bestowed the benediction of peace. "Drive the idolators from "Arabia," said he to his soldiers; "grant to "converts all the privileges of Muselmans, and "be constant to your religious duties." Till the third day before his death, he regularly performed

formed the functions of public prayer: but when he was so ill as to enter the mosque resting on the shoulders of his servants, his feet dragging behind him, he ordered his ancient and faithful friend Abu-Beker to read the service. It might have been thought he would have appointed his cousin and son-in-law to be his successor in the regal and sacerdotal office;* but Ayesha, the daughter of Abu-Beker, and the best beloved of all Muhammed's wives, prevented any intercourse between the Prophet and his early disciple, and the absent friend was forgotten. Motives of female malignity were added to the filial piety of Ayesha. Ali had participated in the discovery of an act of infidelity to her husband, and had severely satirized him for his wilful incredulity to her shame. When his faculties became visibly impaired, he called for pen and ink to write, or more properly to dictate, a divine book, the sum and accomplishment of all his revelations. But Omar remarked, that his divine precepts were already engraven on their hearts, and no further revelation was necessary for their safeguard against the errors of humanity. The matter was disputed in the chamber; the tumultuous clamour awakened the Prophet's indignation, and he commanded them to withdraw,

* Mischat, vol. 2, p. 241.

CHAP. I. draw, and cease to offend the ears of the messenger of God, with their indecorous wranglings. Even at this advanced period of his life, he maintained the faith of an enthusiast: he described the visits of Gabriel, who bade an everlasting farewell to the earth, and expressed his lively confidence, not only of the mercy, but of the favour of the Supreme Being. In a familiar discourse he had mentioned his special prerogative, that the angel of death was not allowed to take his soul, till he had respectfully asked his permission: the request was granted, and Muhammed immediately fell into the agony of his dissolution; his head was reclined on the lap of Ayesha; he fainted with the violence of pain; recovering his spirits, he raised his eyes towards the roof of the house, and with a steadfast look, but faltering voice, uttered the last broken, though articulate words, "O God, pardon my sins! Ah, my companion, "I attend thee to the realms above," and peaceably expired on a carpet spread upon the floor. The affection of his friends rendered their minds incredulous to the reality of the loss; but the gradual dissolution of his body destroyed the hopes that he was wrapt in a holy trance. Their love for him was displayed in the last sad office of an honourable interment of his remains; Medina has been sanctified by his death and burial;

burial; and the innumerable pilgrims of Mecca often turn aside from the way, to bow in voluntary devotion before the simple tomb of the Prophet.*

* Abulfeda, ch. 61—64; Gagnier, liv. 6. ch. 18—20. liv. 7. ch. 19; Chardin, Voyages en Perse, tom. 2. p. 435, ed. 1711; Savary, Vie de Muhammed, p. 207—213; Gibbon, ch. 50. I have no inclination to refute one half of the vulgar stories respecting Muhammed, which are to be found in various authors. The liberal Reland has answered most of them in his admirable work, De Religione Muhammedica, libri duo, 8vo. Ultraj. 1705. Two subjects, however, shall be noticed; 1. Muhammed was buried at Medina, not at Mecca; his coffin is not suspended in the air, by the attraction of loadstones of equal power, but is placed on the ground to the right of those of Abu-Beker and Omar.—See Abulfeda's Description de l'Arabie, in La Roque's Voyage en Palestine, p. 30. 12mo. Paris 1717. 2. The story of the tame pigeon, which whispered in the ear of Muhammed the commands of God, is a ridiculous calumny. It was a fabrication of Christians, which received credit when Grotius inserted it in his work on the truth of our religion. When Pocock translated this book into the Arabic language, for the laudable purpose of converting the Muselmans, he told Grotius, that there were several things in his work respecting these people, which were mere popular errors among the Christians, and constantly denied by the Turks. Grotius, with commendable candour, acknowledged that he had too hastily imbibed the commonly received opinions, and requested Pocock to make such alterations in the book, as his great knowledge of oriental matters might suggest. Pocock, therefore, very prudently and honestly, omitted in his translation the circumstance

Vulgar errors respecting Muhammed.

CHAP. I.

Character of Muhammed.

The progress of time changes so materially the mental, as well as the corporeal features of mankind, that it is impossible to give a portrait, which shall delineate an individual in every period of his life. On different occasions, different passions have the ascendancy; and it would be absurd to argue from one series of actions, that only one passion existed in our nature. The germs of character are sown in our constitution, and are ripened into action by opportunity and circumstances. But if there be a master-passion in every man, that passion in Muhammed was religious enthusiasm. It appeared in all his actions; it displayed itself in every stage of his existence; and it is to this disorder of the imagination, that the birth of Muhammedanism, like that of many other systems of error, may be attributed. In his youthful days he was decent in his morals, pious,

His fanaticism.

cumstance of the pigeon, and other falsehoods. Chaufepiè, Cont. au Bayle, art. Pocock, and Pocock, Specimen, p. 186. Prideaux, Maracci, and many other Christian writers, lose their charity, their candour, and often their love of truth, when the subject is the Muselman's religion. They stand round a cauldron, throw into it all the elements of vice and evil, and the production is a Muhammed. The learned Gagnier has frequently, in his notes to Abulfeda's life of Muhammed, exposed the prejudices of Prideaux. Gagnier, in his Life of Muhammed, drawn from Al Jannabi, refutes with equal candour and ability, the absurd praises bestowed upon Muhammed by Count Boulanvilliers.

pious, contemplative, and retired in disposition. From the age of twenty-five to forty he industriously pursued his occupation of a merchant, and nursed his genius in solitude. He then started into public life a wild and clamourous fanatic. One particular train of ideas had fixed his attention; silent speculation had ended in dreams of rapture; reason was lost in the wanderings of imagination, and the suggestions of fancy were mistaken for the inspirations of heaven. The first and sublime principle of his religion, the unity of the godhead, was preached by him with all the incoherence, and with all the assumption of authority from the Almighty, which distinguish fanatics of every religion. But intercourse with the world, the silent influence of time, and the occasional suggestions of reason, moderated his enthusiasm. In his transactions with his opponents, he now thought of *consequences;* and to accomplish the schemes which began to open on him, and in his endeavours at conversion, he disgraced the purity of his doctrines, and craftily accommodated himself to the passions and prejudices of his countrymen. With increasing success, his hopes expanded. The throne of his country became the object of his desire, and ambitious views of conquest and of plunder added fresh ardour to his energies. Fanaticism, then,

His ambition.

CHAP. I.

then, was the original and real character of Muhammed. He had ambition, it is true; for ambition is easily built upon fanaticism. These two powerful passions require nearly the same temper of soul. But, however violent ambition might have appeared in Muhammed, it was only an accessary passion, produced by circumstances, and which was also late in its development.*

His personal and mental qualifications.

On the graces and intellectual gifts of nature to the son of Abdallah, the Arabian writers dwell with the proudest and fondest satisfaction: and as flattery, like party, exaggerates rather than creates, we may imagine the general nature of his character, by their attributing to him not so much the *exalted* as the *amiable* qualities of humanity. His politeness to the great, his affability to the humble, and his dignified demeanour to the presumptuous, procured him respect, admiration, and applause. His talents were equally fitted for persuasion, or command. Deeply read in the volume of nature, though entirely ignorant of letters,† his mind could expand into controversy with the wisest of his enemies, or contract itself to the apprehension of the meanest of his disciples. His simple eloquence was rendered impressive

* Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. 32, p. 430.

† See the 7th, 29th, and 96th chapters of the Koran with Sale's Notes, and Reland, de Religione Muhammedica, p. 236. Pocock, p. 156.

impressive by a manner of mixed dignity and elegance, by the expression of a countenance, wherein the awfulness of majesty was so well tempered by an amiable sweetness, that it excited emotions of veneration and love; and he was gifted with that authoritative air of genius, which alike influences the learned, and commands the illiterate.* In the possession of the kind and generous affections of the heart, and in the performance of most of the social and domestic duties, he disgraced not his assumed title of an apostle of God. With that simplicity which is so natural to a great mind, he performed the humblest offices, offices whose homeliness it would be idle to conceal in the pomp of diction; even while lord of Arabia, he mended his own shoes and coarse woollen garment, milked the ewes, swept the hearth, and kindled his fire. Dates and water were his usual fare, and milk and honey his luxuries. When he travelled, he divided his morsel with his servant.† The sincerity of his exhortations to benevolence, was testified at his death by the exhausted state of his coffers.‡ He was affected even to tears, when the sword of the enemy sundered the bands of friendship; and his feelings of gratitude to Kadijah, neither time nor the

CHAP. I.

His private life.

* Abulfeda, ch. 55, 56.

† Gagnier, liv. 7, ch. 2. ‡ Mischat, vol. 2. p. 739.

CHAP. I. death of his benefactress could eradicate. After the battle of Mutah, a disciple beheld him in his chamber, weeping with the daughter of his friend Zeid. "What do I see?" exclaimed the intruder, in astonishment that the weaknesses of humanity should dwell in the breast of a messenger from heaven.—"You see," said Muhammed, "a friend who is lamenting the "loss of his most faithful companion.*" "Was "not Kadijah old," inquired Ayesha, with all the haughty insolence of a blooming beauty, "and has not God given you a better in her "place?"—"No," cried the grateful Muhammed, "there never was a kinder or better "woman. She trusted in me, when men "mocked at and despised me: she relieved "my wants, when I was poor and persecuted by the world: she was all devotion to "my cause."† Though his actions as a conqueror were frequently stained with the cruelty which characterizes the Asiatic mind, yet it was the purest humanity which dictated the law, that in the sale of captives, the infant should not be separated from the mother.‡ His prohibition

* Savary, Vie de Muhamed, p. 141.

† Abulfeda, p. 12, note b. ‡ Reland, Dissert. Misc. tom. 3, p. 24. This law has always been in force. It is abominable to separate infant slaves from their mothers, by sale, till the maternal care is no longer requisite, and this

hibition of wine was enforced by his example, and so long as the generous Kadijah shared his fortune, his conjugal fidelity was unimpeached: but when death terminated an union of more than twenty-five years duration, and the warm aspect of good fortune shone upon him, licentious passions, until then perhaps unfelt, and certainly restrained, contended with enthusiasm and ambition for the dominion of his heart. He confessed that women and perfumes were his chief delights.* The angel Gabriel descended from heaven to absolve him from those laws on polygamy and concubinage which he imposed on his followers, and to reprove him, but with mildness, for his want of confidence in the goodness of God to himself, the last and most favoured of apostles. Yet, with a harem of seventeen wives, the hopes of Muhammed for a son to support him in the decrepitude of age, and to uphold after his death his dignities of priest and king, were constantly deceived. Most of his wives were childless. Of the progeny of Mary, an Egyptian captive, and of the four sons and four daughters, which his marriage with Kadijah produced, Fatima alone, a daughter of his benefactress, lived to enjoy his paternal tenderness. The father followed his

His wives and children.

age is pronounced by the most prevailing opinion to be that of seven years. Baillie, vol. 1. p. 139.

* Abulfeda, ch. 66, note A.

CHAP. I. his other children to the tomb, and the feelings of human nature were with difficulty restrained, when a satirist inquired, if the eclipse of the great source of light was occasioned by the death of one of the sons of the Prophet.*

* Abulfeda, ch. 67. Gagnier, liv. 6. ch. 15.

CHAP. II.

THE UNDIVIDED CALIPHATE; OR, THE HISTORY OF THE RISE OF THE SARACENIAN EMPIRE.

HAD the friends and companions of Muhammed been influenced by the spirit of animosity and rivalship which actuated the successors of Alexander, their empire would not have extended from the Atlantic to the Ganges, and their religion might have been lost in the deserts of Arabia. But a portion of the master's enthusiasm descended upon his disciples, and a zeal for the propagation of the Koran exalted them above every view and thought of personal interest. When the reality of the death of Muhammed was believed by his afflicted friends, the fugitives of Mecca and the auxiliaries of Medina contended for the honour of the appointment of a spiritual and temporal chief.* The claims of their respective cities were urged by the Arabs, with all the force of eloquence and passion;

* The fugitives of Mecca are called the Mohagerians, and their protectors at Medina the Ansars. This last word has been often adopted by Arabic writers, as a surname; for they have been proud of their descent from the friends of their Prophet. D'Herbelot, art. Ansari.

CHAP. II.

sion; but Abu-Beker, approving the suggestion of an inhabitant of Medina, that the power should be enjoyed by two persons, declared that Omar, and Abu-Obeidah were worthy representatives of their master. The modest and generous Omar confessed his inability for so weighty a charge, and proposed that Abu-Beker himself should alone direct the energies of the faithful. The whole assembly shouted their acknowledgements of the wisdom of the nomination, and saluted the venerable friend of the Prophet as their supreme lord and judge. But since this anticipation of the wishes of the electors might be drawn into a dangerous precedent, Omar proclaimed from the pulpit, that on any recurrence of the circumstance, he would plunge his sword into the heart both of the electors and the elected. The family of Haschem opposed the people's choice, and supported Ali as the cousin of Muhammed and the husband of Fatima. Political tranquillity was not long agitated by these pretensions, for the threat of Omar, that he would destroy Ali's house, and the mild remonstrance of Abu-Beker, that resistance would only renew those tumults which had lately so happily subsided, produced silence and submission.

Reign of Abu-Beker, A. D. 632. June.

In full possession of sovereign power, Abu-Beker despised the vain epithets of royalty, and shewed

shewed his respect for Muhammed by simply stiling himself his caliph or successor. The great body of the Arabs had accepted their new religion with indifference, and on the death of its author were quickly sinking into their ancient idolatry. "Ye men of Mecca, will ye be the "last to embrace, and the first to abandon the "religion of Islam?" was the unanswerable appeal of Abu-Beker to the pride of his inconstant countrymen; and the band of enthusiasts, headed by Caled, the avowed enemy of apostates, defeated the unconnected tribes of the desert, and reclaimed them to the belief of one God, and of the last and greatest of his apostles.* CHAP. II.

In

* In writing this chapter, I have been principally indebted to the following works. Histoire des Arabes sous le Gouvernement des Califs, par M. l'Abbé Marigny, 4 tom. 12mo. Paris, 1750.—Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes par M. Cardonne, 3 tom. 12mo. 1765.—D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, 4 tom. 4to. Paris, 1777.—Ockley's History of the Saracens, 2 vols. 8vo. 3d edit. 1757. Simon Ockley was one of the greatest orientalists England ever produced; and his termination of a valuable life in Cambridge jail, and not in Cambridge University, is a national disgrace. His history of the Saracens is, as far as it extends, invaluable. His style is nervous and expressive, though fastidious and refined ears may account it coarse. I have used his language when I have had occasion to detail the speeches and letters of Caled and other Saracenian generals.—Abulfeda, Annales Moslemici, Arab. Written histories of the Saracens.

CHAP. II. In the province of Nedsjed a powerful adversary to the Moslems had appeared. Actuated by enthusiasm or fraud, Moseilama had proclaimed himself a prophet from heaven. He condescended to offer a portion of the world to Muhammed; but his proposal was rejected with ridicule and disdain. On the death of the founder of Islamism, the rival revolutionist hoisted the standard of war, and his army was sufficiently powerful to demand the opposition

Arab. et Lat. a J. J. Reiske, edit. J. G. C. Adler, 5 tom. 4to. Haf. 1789—1794. Notwithstanding the imperfections of Abulfeda's work, the total absence from it of all historical matter respecting the Saracenian dynasties in Spain, and other important subjects, yet it is the best general guide to enquiries into Moslem history for the first seven centuries of the hegira, with which we are acquainted. The merit of Abulfeda's life of Muhammed has been already noticed. Reiske, the celebrated professor of oriental literature at Leipsic, collated the various MSS. of Abulfeda, and wrote a translation in Latin. After his death, Adler published the Arabic text, Reiske's translation, and a valuable collection of Reiske's notes. Reiske and Adler rejected, as superficial and useless, some remarks of Abulfeda on the Jews, Persians, Arabs, and other nations. But the learned Sylvester de Sacy, the Arabic professor at Paris, has thought that such of these remarks as relate to the history of the Arabs before the time of Muhammed were worthy of translation, and they accordingly form part of the modern edition of Pocock's Specimen Historiæ Arabum by the late professor White. Abulfeda was as eminent a geographer as historian. His treatise on geography has been published in different

opposition of the best general of the Moslems. Caled, at the head of forty thousand soldiers, met him in the field. In the first action the Moslems were defeated; but their losses served only to increase their enthusiasm, and to inspire their adversaries with an arrogant confidence. In the next battle, ten thousand infidels were slain, and Moseilama himself received from a javelin a mortal wound. CHAP. II.

The restoration of peace and order in Arabia was succeeded by the desire of conquest and proselytism. The Prophet had repeatedly urged his Conquests of the Saracens.

ferent parts; that which relates to Syria, by Kohler, in 1766; to Egypt, by the great John David Michaelis, in 1776; to Korasm and Mawralnahr, or Transoxiana, by Graves, the Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford, in 1650. Mr. Graves also translated into Latin, Abulfeda's Arabia, and after his death it was inserted in the third volume of Dr. Hudson's "Geographia veteris Scriptoris "Græciæ Minoris." Abulfeda's Arabia has also been translated into French by the eminent Galland, and was inserted in La Roque's Travels in Palestine. I drew but few materials for the present chapter from Historia Saracenia Georgii Elmacini, Opera et Studio Thomæ Erpinii, in 4to. Ludg. Batav. 1625. Adler, in his preface to Abulfeda (p. 12), tells us, that Elmacin's book is, speaking generally, a good one; but that the text is faulty, and the translation inaccurate. I received little benefit from another book, which, as well as Elmacin's is, I believe, more frequently quoted than read: I mean Historia Compendiosa Dynastiarum, ab Abul-Pharajio, interprete Edw. Pocockio, 4to. Oxon. 1663;—but, in studying the literature of the Saracens, I found it of the greatest use.

CHAP. II.

his disciples to spread his religion from one end of the world to the other, and his assurance in the Koran, that, "if twenty of them perse-"vered, two hundred of their enemies should "be overcome, and if one hundred were firm, "one thousand could not resist them," checked any appalling comparison, between the greatness of the task and the littleness of the means. The rich and well peopled country of Syria invited the repacity and zeal of the Moslems. On the summons* of Abu-Beker, a large army was assembled round Medina, and Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan received from the Caliph the charge of commander. The successor of the Prophet accompanied on foot the intrepid force of the Saracens part of their first day's march: the generals, in imitation of his humility, wished to dismount, but he told them that when the purpose

Invasion of Syria, A.D. 632.

Abu-Beker's singular note to the Arabs.

* These were the words of Abu-Beker's circular letter to the Arabian tribes. "In the name of the most merciful "God; to the rest of the true believers, health and hap-"piness and the blessing of God be upon you. I praise "the most high God, and I pray for his prophet Muham-"med. This is to acquaint you, that I intend to send the "true believers into Syria to take it out of the hands of the "infidels. And I would have you know, that the fighting "for religion is an act of obedience to God." Who is there that does not compare this circular letter, saturated with religious fanaticism, with the circular letter which the political enthusiasts of France wrote five and twenty years ago?

purpose was the propagation of religion, those who walked on foot and those who rode were equally meritorious in the sight of God. At the decline of the day, he left them to pursue their march to the holy war, and mitigated the severity of his exhortation to conquest, by the language of mercy and pardon. "Yezid," said he to the general, "be sure you do not oppress "your own people, nor make them uneasy, but "advise with them in all your affairs, and take "care to do that which is right and just, for "those that do otherwise shall not prosper. "When you meet your enemies, quit yourselves "like men, and do not turn your backs; and if "you get the victory, kill no little children, "nor old people, nor women. Destroy no "palm trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Cut "down no fruit trees, nor do any mischief to "cattle, only such as you kill for the necessary "purpose of subsistence. When you make any "covenant or article, stand to it, and be as "good as your word. As you go on, you will "find some religious persons that live retired "in monasteries, who propose to themselves to "serve God that way. Let them alone, and "neither kill them, nor destroy their monasteries. "And you will find another sort of people that "belong to the synagogues of Satan, who have "shaven crowns; be sure you cleave their

CHAP. II.

"skulls, and give them no quarter, till they "either turn Muhammedans or pay tribute."*

In vain did the Greek Emperor Heraclius appeal to the pride and courage of his subjects, by the remonstrance, that a people who had successfully resisted the incursions of the Turks and Persians, ought never to be conquered by the

Fanaticism of the Saracens.

* Few of the Saracens were altogether so mad as not to be great rogues, for, as Jortin says, "the two qualities of "*knave* and *fanatic* go very lovingly together." Some instances of perfect enthusiasm are, however, to be met with. In the caliphate of Omar, the soldiers indulged in the luxury of wine, which was found in one of the captured cities. The general communicated the news of the offence to the Caliph, and four score strokes on the soles of the feet was the punishment which Omar and the elders at Medina awarded. The punishment was submitted to with religious resignation, and even many undetected sinners relieved their consciences by revealing their secret offences.—The mother and sister of an Arabian youth accompanied him to the Syrian war. Previously to a combat in which he fell, he embraced his family, and said, "It is not the delicacies "of Syria, or the fading delights of this world, that have "prompted me to devote my life in the cause of religion. "But I seek the favour of God and his Apostle, and I "have heard from one of the companions of the Prophet, "that the spirits of the martyrs will be lodged in the crops "of green birds, who shall taste the fruits, and drink of "the rivers of Paradise. Farewell, we shall meet again "among the groves and fountains, which God has provided "for his elect." See Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, life of Omar.

the poor and pitiful Arabs. The messengers from Yezid to Abu-Beker daily announced the success of the army of the faithful on the borders of Syria; and the princes of Arabia, attracted by the prosperity of their countrymen, furnished another powerful force, which was destined for the subjugation of Palestine. The expectations entertained by Caled of the chief command were disappointed in the nomination of Amrou, but genuine fanaticism produces a total oblivion of personal regards, and Caled's declaration was sincere, that he minded not who had the standard, even an infant or an enemy, for that he was resolved to fight under it in all circumstances, for the propagation of religion. A spirit such as this was fitted for enterprize. Shortly after the appointment of Amrou, Yezid had yielded his charge to the superior claims of Abu-Obeidah, one of the fugitives from Mecca, and a companion of Muhammed, but as the conquest of Syria proceeded not with the rapidity which Abu-Beker desired, Caled was sent to achieve the work. CHAP. II.

The city of Bosra, four days' journey from Damascus, in the province which the proud Romans had falsely called Arabia, was the great mart for the trading caravans from the desert. By the care of the emperor it had been rendered Bosra taken.

CHAP. II. one of the strongest places of defence in Syria, and even the name of Bosra, which signifies a strong tower of safety, was invented or adopted to express the nature of the fortress. Abu-Obeidah had commanded Serjabil to attack it. His four thousand Muselmans were defeated by the myriads of Syrians; but the seasonable arrival of Caled, with fifteen hundred horse, restored the courage and discipline of the troops. The purification of the body was performed with sand, the morning prayer was repeated on horseback, shouts of Allah Achbar (God is mighty), and Alhamlah, Alhamlah, Aljannah, Aljannah (Fight, Fight, Paradise, Paradise), inflamed the enthusiasm of the Saracens, and the inhabitants of Bosra, with the mercenary soldiers of the emperor, were driven to the shelter of their fortifications.

The fall of the city was accelerated by the treachery of the governor Romanus. On the first attack, he had recommended immediate submission; and the indignation of the Syrians at his cowardice provoked him to espouse the cause of the Muhammedan religion. He conducted a chosen band through a subterraneous passage from his house, under the wall of the city; the whole army of Moslems were admitted, and the victorious and orthodox Caled imposed

posed an heavy tribute upon the Christians, as the price of the enjoyment of their religion.* CHAP. II.

 A march

* There was a mixture of enthusiasm and ambition in the Saracens. The promulgation of religion is declared in every page of the Koran to be the great object of the faithful, and war the instrument. The idolatrous Arabs (those appear to be the unbelievers mentioned in the 48th chapter of the Koran) were condemned to the alternative of death or the profession of Islamism. The people of the written law, the Jews and the Christians, were allowed the milder choice of conversion or tribute; and enthusiasm was subdued by gold. In the course of time, when the ambition of the Saracens assumed a less questionable shape, the alternative of conversion or tribute was offered even to idolators. Some of the Saracenian laws of war shall be noticed. Before a declaration of hostility, the Muselmans invited the infidels to a confession of the true faith. But there appears to have been no necessity to make this invitation, for the faithful might exercise their pious trade of butchery without it. The male captives were put to death: the female ones sold for slaves. Children and old men were spared. The releasing of infidel captives in exchange for Muselman captives was not lawful. Ambassadors were accounted sacred. The wells and springs of water were not to be poisoned until the last extremity. It is a singular fact in the history of the human mind, that community of possessions was never thought of by the Saracenian enthusiasts. The gold and silver, the prisoners and cattle, the moveables and immoveables taken in war, were divided into five portions. One of them was applied by the Caliphs to religious and charitable purposes. The centinel of the camp, the soldier who fought, the retired veteran, and the widows and orphans of the slain, were entitled to an equal participation Saracenian laws of war.

CHAP. II.

Siege of Damascus, A. D. 632.

A march of four days brought the Saracens under the walls of Damascus. The ancient capital of Syria resisted an army, which had been weakened by the siege of Bosra. After various petty engagements, the forces of the Saracens, dispersed through Syria and Palestine, were collected in the plain of Aiznadin. Seventy thousand of the Grecian emperor's best troops were commanded to compel the return of the invaders to their own savage regions. Caled rejected the offers of peace, on the condition of the departure of the Arabs to their native country, and excited his soldiers to desperation, as the only chance of success. "No," said the intrepid Saracen to the messenger of Werdan, the Roman general, "no peace—but either become "tributaries or Muhammedans. Your great "armies affright not us. We are promised "victory by our prophet Muhammed, and we "reject with scorn your proffered vests, tur- "bans, and money: We like war better than "peace; and however poorly you may think "of

tion of the remainder; but the horseman always received a double portion. The Saracens had two very singular laws. One was, that death in an enemy's country was a preclusion of any right to a share in the plunder. The other was, that a man who received pay was neither entitled to plunder nor martyrdom. Reland, de jure militari Muham. Dissert. Miscell. tom. 3, p. 3--53. Hedaya, b. 9, chap. 2, 4. Mischat, vol. 2, p. 244.

" of us, we reckon you no better than dogs." CHAP. II.
" You behold," cried Caled, as he rode among the ranks of his soldiers, " you behold the " collected force of the Romans. You cannot " hope to escape; but if you are conquerors, " all Syria will be subjected to you. Therefore " fight in good earnest, take Religion's part, " and be sure you do not turn your backs, and " so be damned for your pains." An ambuscade was formed for the capture of the best general of the Arabs: but the plan was revealed, the Greeks* were slain, the vanquishers clad themselves in the military habits of the vanquished, and Werdan, deceived by appearances, fell into his own snare. The onset of the Greeks was met with firmness; but the charges of the Saracens were tremendous and irresistible. The Christian army were either slaughtered or dispersed. The wretched remains fled to Cæsarea, to Antioch, and Damascus; the conquerors adorned themselves with crosses of gold and silver and the rich armour of the Greeks, and rejoiced

Battle of Aizuadin.

A.D. 633. July.

* In conformity with the usage of the best writers, I shall call the soldiers of the Greek emperor, indifferently Greeks, or Syrians, or Romans. The seat of imperial power gave them the first appellation. They were called also Syrians, partly because it was the place of birth of many of them, and partly because it was the largest province of the empire. The epithet Roman was their title of honour.

CHAP. II.

joiced in the reflection, that fifty thousand infidels had on that day been sent to hell, and that four hundred and seventy Moslems had received the crown of martyrdom in paradise.

After the battle of Aiznadin, the Saracens returned to the fertile and irriguous valley round Damascus. Ignorant of the military art, with which the Greeks were so well acquainted, the sieges undertaken by the new subjugators of the world were long and tedious. Deprived of supplies of provisions by the close investment of the enemy, the Roman forces were compelled to sally upon the besiegers, and were invariably repulsed. The courage of the Damascenes yielded to time and famine; and one hundred deputies from the clergy and people solicited peace and protection from the mild and venerable Abu-Obeidah. The confidence of the Greeks was invited by the urbanity of this chief, who assured them that his Prophet had commanded him to pay respect to persons of rank and quality,* and to perform the covenant which he made. A treaty was concluded, by which all voluntary emigrants were allowed to quit the city

Capture of Damascus, A. D. 634.

* And yet Muhammed said, "as the tree of thorns from "which nothing can be gathered but thorns, in such man-"ner nothing can be gathered from the society of the great "but sin and vice." Mischat, vol. I. p. 66.

city with their moveables; the residents were to become tributaries to the Caliphs, and to enjoy their property, and the use of seven churches. Yet at the moment when peace seemed to be restored, a party of Arabs entered the city. "No quarter to the enemies of the Lord," exclaimed the furious Caled, and a torrent of Christian blood poured down the streets of Damascus. When he reached the church of St. Mary, his astonishment was excited at the appearance of Abu-Obeidah and his soldiers, with their swords undrawn, and surrounded by an assemblage of priests and monks. Damascus was saved from destruction by the mild firmness of Abu-Obeidah. Caled and his followers cried aloud for slaughter; but the friend of Muhammed implored his fellow-chiefs to respect his promise of protection and peace; and enforced the politic consideration, that as there were other cities in Syria not then reduced, it behoved the Saracens in no case to violate the sacredness of a treaty, lest the inhabitants should be provoked, by despair and distrust, to an obstinate resistance. At length it was agreed, that Caled should have the disposal of that part of the town which he had taken by the sword; and Abu-Obeidah of that which had yielded to him upon articles; and the final determination of the fate of the Damascenes was reserved for the Caliph. But under

CHAP. II.

under the guidance of Thomas, a noble Greek, who had performed acts of wonder in the siege, a long procession of patriotic inhabitants, disdaining the offered condition of tribute, left their palaces and homes, to seek in pride and anguish, some more tranquil spot in the heart of the empire. Three days of truce were allowed them; but on the fourth, the sanguinary Caled commenced the pursuit, his cavalry overtook the Christians, already overcome by sorrow and fatigue; and one individual alone of the wretched band escaped the lances and scymitars of the Saracens.

Death of Abu-Beker, A. D. 634, July.

The venerable Abu-Beker lived not to receive the news of the fall of Damascus. In his last illness, Omar performed for him the public prayer in the mosque. The dying Caliph, both by his testament and by his declarations to the assenting people, appointed Omar his successor in the office of spreading abroad the doctrines of the prophet of mercy. The modesty of his friend would have "rejected the kingly crown," but the argument of Abu-Beker that patriotism should be a more powerful motive than personal convenience silenced his scruples.

Reign of Omar, A. D. 634-644.

The commencement of the caliphate of Omar was remarkable for the deposition of Caled from the chief command of the Syrian armies, and the appointment of Abu-Obeidah. The new

new lieutenant of the Caliph received with unwillingness the increase of honours, and delayed the assumption of his power, till the news of Caled's late successes should have reached Medina, and increased the confidence of the Caliph in the *sword of God*. But the successor of Muhammed was inflexible, and the humility of Abu-Obeidah was equalled by the loyalty of Caled. "I know," said this intrepid Saracen, "that "Omar loves me not; but he is my master, "and I submit to his decrees. My zeal shall "suffer no abatement; and whenever he "chooses to employ me, I will give every pos-"sible proof of zeal and devotion to our holy "cause." A minute detail of the conquest by the Saracens of Syria and Palestine would be only a repetition of instances of that courage and policy, which they exhibited in the siege of Bosra and Damascus; and without giving a regular and diurnal account of the contest, a rapid survey will be taken of some of the principal military events, which produced the subjugation of this fairest portion of the east.

Capture of Ems and Balbec. A. D. 635.

The cities of Emesa, or Ems, of Heliopolis, or Balbec, gratified the rapacity of the Barbarians, though the fall of these fortifications shook not the power of the Greek emperor. The banks of the petty stream of the Yermouk or Hieromax, which falls into the lake of Tiberias, have been

Battle of Yermouk, A. D. 636. November.

CHAP. II. been consecrated by the last struggle of the Greeks in the open field, for their valuable province of Syria. Eighty thousand veterans of the armies which were devoted to the service of the Byzantine court appalled the Saracens, and messengers were sent in haste to the Caliph, to determine the question of an attack or a retreat. A reinforcement of eight thousand Moslems was more effective than the prayers and commands of the successor of the apostle of God. In times of difficulty and danger prescription must yield to necessity, and the dull claims of age and rank be occasionally superseded. Abu-Obeidah obeyed the voice of the soldiers, and resigned the chief command to Caled, whose exhortation of tremendous brevity—that, "paradise was before them, the "devil and hell-fire were in the rear," was, as inspiring to the assailants, as the mild assurance of Abu-Obeidah was consolatory to the wounded —"That their enemies partook of their suf- "ferings, without sharing their reward." The charges of the Roman cavalry had almost routed the Saracens, but the blows and reproaches of the Arabian women of the tribe of Hamyarites, (descendants of the Amalekites) who, armed with bows and lances, formed the last line of the army of the faithful, drove their affrighted countrymen again to the combat. As in the battle

battle of Aiznadin, so in the present engagement the Greeks were either slain or scattered; and in his letter to the Caliph, the general of the Saracens congratulates him on the slaughter of thousands of infidels; that the waters of the Yermouk had drowned a number known to God alone; that the fugitives into the deserts and mountains had been destroyed, and that God had made the faithful, masters of their wives, their children, and their country. CHAP. II.

The loss of the battle of Yermouk left the cities of Jerusalem, Aleppo, and Antioch, to their garrisons alone for defence. To Jerusalem the Caliph commanded his general to proceed, as a city held next in veneration to Mecca and Medina. After an ineffectual effort at a surprise of the garrison by five thousand Arabs, Abu-Obeidah invested the city with his whole army, and offered the inhabitants the choice of conversion or tribute. "From Abu-"Obeidah to the chief commanders of the "people of Elia,* and to the inhabitants them-"selves. Health and happiness to every one "that follows the right way, and believes in "God and his Apostle. We require of you to "testify, that there is but one God, and that "Muhammed Siege of Jerusalem.

* Jerusalem was the sacred, and Elia the profane name of this city. Elia, from Hadrian, who placed a colony there, and whose surname was Elia.—D'Herbelot, Art. Ilia.

CHAP. II.

"Muhammed is his Apostle; and when you "have borne witness to this, it is unlawful for "us, either to shed your blood, or meddle with "your substance and children. If you refuse "this, consent to pay tribute, and be under "us forthwith, otherwise I shall bring men "against you, who love death better than you "do the drinking of wine, or the eating of "hogs' flesh. Nor will I ever stir from you, "if it please God, till I have destroyed those "that fight for you, and made slaves of your "children." Four months of a severe winter were consumed by the Saracens in the siege, and at length the patriarch Sophronius agreed to capitulate. As Jerusalem, however, was a place of peculiar sanctity, he proposed to deliver it to none except the Caliph himself.

The Caliph's journey to Jerusalem.

In the mosque at Medina this strange condition was discussed. Othman, indignant that a vanquished foe should presume to dictate terms, urged the necessity of a denial; but the argument of Ali, that the soldiers exhausted by the fatigues of a winter campaign, would be refreshed at the sight of the Caliph, determined Omar to accede to the wishes of Sophronius and Abu-Obeidah. His journey to Jerusalem is so characteristic of the spirit of the times, of a mixture of simplicity and fanaticism, of a contempt of pomp and parade, while pursuing the great objects

objects of earthly ambition, that a brief narrative of it will interest the philosophical observer of man. "When the Caliph had said his "prayers in the mosque, (I adopt the simple "language of Ockley) and paid his respects at "Muhammed's tomb, he substituted Ali in his "place, and set forward with some attendants; "the greatest part of which having kept him "company a little way, returned back to Me-"dina. He rode upon a red camel with a "couple of sacks, in one of which he carried "that sort of provisions which the Arabs call "sawik, which is either barley, rice, or wheat, "sodden and unhusked; the other was full of "fruits. Before him he carried a great leathern "bottle (very necessary in those desart coun-"tries to put water in), behind him a large "wooden dish. Thus furnished and equipped, "the Caliph travelled, and when he came to "any place where he was to rest all night, he "never went from it till he had said the morn-"ing prayer. After which, turning himself "about to those that were with him, he said, "'Praise be to God, who has strengthened us "with the true religion, and given us his Pro-"phet, and led us out of error, and united us "(who were at variance) in the confession of "the truth, and given us the victory over our "enemies, and the possession of his country.

"O, ye

CHAP. II. " O, ye servants of God! Praise him for these " abundant favours; for God gives increase to " those that ask it and are desirous of those " things that are with him, and fulfils his " grace upon those that are thankful.' Then " filling his platter with the sawik, he very " liberally entertained his fellow travellers, who " did, without any distinction, eat with him " out of the same dish." On his road, he chastised a Muselman for an incestuous marriage with two sisters, relieved a tributary from the extortions of some straggling soldiers of Caled, and corrected their luxury and pride by despoiling them of the rich silks which they had taken at the battle of Yermouk, and dragging them on their faces through the dirt. When he came within sight of the city, he cried aloud, " Allah Achbar, and God give us an easy " conquest;" and pitching his tent, which was made of coarse hair, he seated himself on the ground.

The simplicity of the commander of the faithful did not diminish those sentiments of terror or respect, which the martial appearance of his followers occasioned in the breasts of the citizens of Jerusalem. " Resistance to these men," said the patriarch to his generals, " without miracu- " lous assistance from heaven, will be in vain. " Their Prophet enjoined them to exercise the

" virtues

" virtues of humility, modesty, and submission; CHAP. II.
" and these qualities lead to greatness. Their
" laws will soon become absolute over all other
" laws, and their empire will extend from the
" east to the west."* The terms of capitula- Capture of Jerusalem, A. D. 637.
tion were soon assented to and signed. A heavy tribute and a perpetual tax protected and secured the Christians in the possession of their lives, their fortunes, and their churches; and a difference of dress and of surnames was for ever to distinguish the conquerors and the conquered. " Neither should the Christians (proceeds the " treaty) ride upon saddles, nor bear any sort of " arms, nor use the Arabic tongue in the in- " scriptions of their seals; nor sell any wine. " They shall be obliged to wear the same sort of " habit wherever they go, and always wear " girdles upon their waists. They shall set no " crosses upon their churches, nor shew the " crosses in their books, openly in the streets " of the Muselmans. They shall not ring, but " only toll their bells: nor take any servant " that had once belonged to the Muselmans." " Upon these terms," observes Ockley, " the " Christians had liberty of conscience; and Je- " rusalem, once the glory of the east, was " forced to submit to a heavier yoke, than ever

* Murtadi, Merveilles de l'Egypte selon les Arabes, trad. par Pierre Vattier, 12mo. Paris, 1666, p. 201.

CHAP. II. "she had borne before. For though the num-
"ber of the slain, and the calamities of the
"besieged, were greater when it was taken by
"the Romans, yet the servitude of those that
"survived was nothing comparable to this,
"either in respect of the circumstances or du-
"ration. Now it fell, as it were, once for all
"into the hands of the most mortal enemies of
"the Christian religion, in which it has conti-
"nued ever since, excepting only that interval
"of near ninety years, in which it was possessed
"by the Christians in the Holy War." The gates were opened to the Caliph, and the two patriarchs of Christianity and Muhammedanism entered the city together, in familiar discourse concerning the religious antiquities of the place. At the hour of prayer, the Caliph humbled himself on the steps of the church of Constantine: he refused to offer up his devotions within the church of the Resurrection; "for," said he, in a noble observance of the spirit of the treaty, "if I pray within the church, the Moslems will "infallibly take it from you, Sophronius, because "it is a place in which I, the object of their "imitation, have prayed: and as my kneeling "on the threshold of this church may give rise "to future disturbance, I will command the "Moslems not to assemble on the steps." By the order of the Caliph, the ground of the temple of

of Solomon was cleared of its rubbish, and a mosque was founded which soon became more splendid and magnificent than any mosque in the east. In a residence of ten days at Jerusalem, he regulated the plans of future conquest; and his return to Medina removed the apprehension of the votaries of Muhammed, that his successor had resolved to close his life amongst the sepulchres of the prophets, and at the place where all men would be assembled at the general resurrection. CHAP. II.

In the siege of the city, or rather the castle of Aleppo, thousands of the Moslems fell. Five months elapsed in alternate success and defeat, and the Saracens supplicated the Caliph for permission to seek an easier conquest. "I am "variously affected," replied Omar, "according to the different success you have had, but "I charge you by no means to raise the siege "of the castle, for that will encourage your "enemies to fall upon you on all sides. Wherefore continue the siege till God shall determine the event, and forage with your horse "round about the country." The supplies of volunteers from every part of Arabia enabled the general to recommence his attacks. Yet two months were wasted in a fruitless repetition of assaults, and the Saracens would have been compelled to retire, if stratagem had not effected Conquest of Aleppo, A.D. 638.

CHAP. II. what open bravery could not accomplish. One of the new volunteers, whose name was Dames, a man of gigantic stature and ferocious courage, avowed his ability to capture the city with the assistance of thirty companions. It was the character of the times to admire actions of desperate boldness, and the lieutenant of the Caliph viewed with gladness any prospect of success. Caled enforced the self-recommendation of Dames, and Abu-Obeidah admonished his brethren not to despise the former servile condition of the object of his hopes, for he himself, could he relinquish the public care, would cheerfully serve under him in the enterprize. The Moslem army removed from the walls of Aleppo, and the vigilance of the garrison was relaxed by the appearance of a retreat. Six captive Greeks brought Dames intelligence of the supineness in which the garrison were lost; but their ignorance of the Arabic language, and the consequent necessity of an interpreter, provoked from the impatient and illiterate barbarian the exclamation, "God curse these dogs, what a "strange barbarous language they use." In the darkest hour of the night, Dames and his thirty associates quitted their ambush behind an eminence, and approached with silence and caution the wall of the castle. Resting his broad and sinewy back against a bulwark which somewhat

somewhat declined from its perpendicular, he allowed seven of his strongest associates to mount successively on the shoulders of each other and himself; and the seventh and foremost leaped upon the battlements. The drowsy centinels were stabbed, or cast into the ditch, and the remainder of the thirty Saracens, repeating the pious ejaculation, "O apostle of "God, help and deliver us," were drawn to the parapet by ropes, and the long folds of their turbans. Dames alone explored the tranquil chambers of the castle; in the banquet room he discovered Youkinna, the general of the Greeks, celebrating with riotous festivity the retreat of the Saracens. He returned to his companions, killed the porters at the gates, let down the drawbridge, and retained it till at the appearance of morning Caled relieved the exhausted band, and the whole Moslem army entered the castle. CHAP. II.

The fall of Jerusalem, Damascus, and Aleppo, accelerated that ruin of Syria which the battles of Aiznadan and Yermouk commenced: and of the proud cities of this valuable member of the Roman empire, Antioch alone remained in the power of the Greeks, as an example to the various provincial towns. Conducted by Youkinna, who embraced the faith and the politics of the Muselmans, the strong castle of Fall of Antioch, A.D. 638.

CHAP. II. Arzaz, and the iron bridge over the Orontes at Antioch, were taken by surprise, and the best of the Roman armies fell before the scimitars of the Saracens. In religious controversies, or in royal pageants, the Emperor Heraclius forgot his dignity and important station, and when his enemies approached the seat of Roman government in Syria, this feeble successor of Constantine fled to Constantinople, and the Greeks resigned for ever the possession of a city, which, in the days of Roman grandeur, Cæsar had adorned with the titles of free, and holy, and inviolate. The prudent Obeidah dreaded lest his soldiers should become enervated by the luxury of Antioch, and after extorting, as the ransom of her safety, three hundred thousand ducats of gold, he withdrew his army to the discipline and labour of the camp.

The news of the victory, and the general's apprehensions for the declining virtue of his soldiers, were received by the commander of the faithful, while preparing for a pilgrimage to Mecca. Omar fell on the ground, wept, and poured forth thanksgivings to God and his Prophet. In the fervour of his joy and gratitude, he blamed the sternness of Abu-Obeidah, which denied to his faithful Moslems the fruits of victory, and replied to his letter, "that God

"did

" did not forbid the use of the good things of CHAP. II.
" this life to faithful men, and such as per-
" formed good works: wherefore the lieute-
" nant should have given them leave to rest
" themselves, and partake freely of those good
" things which the country afforded: that if
" any of the Saracens had no family in Arabia,
" they might marry in Syria; and whoever
" among them wanted any female slaves, he
" might purchase as many as he had occasion
" for." The persecution of Christianity, and the enjoyment of the delicacies of Syria, were equally objects of regard to the Saracens. But a plague was more fatal to their ranks than the swords of the enemy or the luxury of Antioch. Twenty-five thousand men fell in this year of destruction, as the Arabians mournfully distinguish the eighteenth anniversary of the flight of Muhammed; and the public grief was aggravated, that amongst the victims were Abu-Obeidah, Serjabil, and Yezid.

Caled, though spared from a species of death so unwelcome to a soldier, sunk at the end of three years under exhaustion, sickness, and wounded pride. A base charge of appropriating to himself the public treasure was preferred against him, or encouraged by Omar. The noble Saracen, who had so often devoted himself to his country's cause, was examined

Death of Caled, A.D. 642.

CHAP. II. with every indignity—the probability even is, with his turban fastened round his neck, in the ignominious grasp of the common crier. He submitted with exemplary moderation, alleging that the dictates of resentment, however just, should not prevail with him to resist the will of his superiors. The imposition of a fine satisfied the public justice; but when his horse, his armour, and one slave, were found to constitute all his wealth, Omar deigned to weep over the tomb, at Emesa, of the injured conqueror of Syria.*

Amrou. Caled was not the only champion of the Saracens who rendered the Caliphate of Omar memorable in the history of fanaticism. Amrou, equal as a warrior to the *sword of God*, and a wiser politician, was one of Muhammed's earliest proselytes. In the battles of the Prophet, and in every war of Abu-Beker and Omar, he exhibited the various qualifications of a commander and a soldier. His satirical verses in early youth upon the Prophet of his country display vivacity of talent; and his observation in riper years has been justly preserved among the sayings of the wise: "Shew me," demanded Omar, "the sword with which you have fought

"so

* These circumstances concerning the public ingratitude to Caled were first communicated to the English reader by Major Price, in his Muhammedan History, vol. 1. ch.3.

" so many battles, and slain so many thousands CHAP. II.
" of infidels." Amrou unsheathed his scimitar, and to the Caliph's ejaculation of surprise and contempt at its common appearance, made reply, " Alas! the sword itself, without the arm of its " master, is neither sharper, nor more weighty, " than the sword of Farezdak the poet." *

On the death of Abu-Obeidah, Amrou succeeded to the command of the Moslem army, and prepared them for the conquest of the long valley of Egypt. But the council at Medina envied Amrou the glory of the enterprize; and a letter of Omar to his lieutenant betrayed the fluctuations of his own mind. " If this epistle," wrote the Caliph, " reaches you while you are " in Syria, return: but if you are entered into " Egypt when the messenger arrives, advance " with the blessing of God; and assure your- " self, that if you want any supplies, I will " take care to send them." The servant of Omar overtook the Arabians on the confines of Syria; but Amrou, suspecting the malice of his domestic enemies, pressed forward his army to Arish. His camp was formed, the messenger was admitted, and the letter was opened in the presence

Conquest of Egypt, A.D. 638. June.

* Harris's Philo. Inquiries, p. 350. Farezdak was a poet famous for his fine description of a sword, but not equally famous for his personal prowess. Pocock's note in Carm. Tog. p. 184.

CHAP. II. presence of the assembled officers. Assuming the surprise of ignorance, he read aloud the contents, and inquired the situation of Arish. The answer was agreeable to his wishes; and with sorrowful gravity he declared to his generals, that the commands of the Caliph must be obeyed. Farmak or Pelusium, the key of Egypt, was soon possessed by the Saracens, and a seven months siege reduced Memphis to obedience. The native Egyptians, or Coptic Christians, rejoiced at the appearance of the Moslems. Their religious principles had drawn upon them the tyranny and persecution of the Byzantine Emperors, and they joyfully hailed the prospect of happiness in a change of masters. The Coptic inhabitants, exaggerated by the Arabic writers to six millions, paid individually the yearly tribute of two ducats; but the old men, the women, and the children, were exempted from the tax. The Greeks of Egypt, an inconsiderable part of the population of the country, fled to Alexandria; and this second city of the empire might have been preserved, if Heraclius, who had the command of the sea, had recruited it with continual supplies of men and provisions. The inhabitants, though unassisted by the emperor, defended themselves against the Saracens for fourteen months; and twenty-three thousand of the rovers of the desert

sert obtained the crown of martyrdom under the walls of Alexandria. The enthusiasm of the Saracens at length overcame the patriotism of the Egyptians. "I have taken," wrote Amrou to the Caliph, "the great city of the "west. It is impossible for me to enumerate "the variety of its riches and beauty; and I "shall content myself with observing, that it "contains four thousand palaces, four thousand "baths, four hundred theatres or places of "amusement, twelve thousand shops for the "sale of vegetable food, and forty thousand "tributary Jews. The town has been sub-"dued by force of arms, without treaty or "capitulation, and the Moslems are impa-"tient to seize the fruits of their victory." But Omar commanded that private property should be respected, and the conversion of the public stores to the pious purpose of furnishing the means of promulgating the doctrine of the unity of God and the mission of his apostle. Two ducats was the annual ransom of safety for every poorer person, whether a native or a foreigner; but a proportion for the benefit of the state was deducted from the clear profits of the wealthier people, who were engaged in the pursuits of agriculture and commerce.

CHAP. II.

Capture of Alexandria.

The conquest of Egypt occurred at the most fortunate season for the Arabs. Their country

was

CHAP. II.

was this year afflicted by a famine; but Amrou placed the products of a land, which had once been the granary of the Romans, on the backs of camels; and a train of these useful animals, extending from Memphis to Medina, a distance of one hundred leagues, quickly and completely supplied the wants of his countrymen. The Egyptians under the Ptolemies, and the Romans under Trajan, had fruitlessly endeavoured to open a maritime communication between the Nile and the Red Sea. The increased facility of commerce between Egypt and Arabia, which a measure of that kind would have produced, suggested the experiment to Omar, and his resources were equal to its accomplishment. A magnificent canal of eighty miles in length was opened by the soldiers of Amrou, and it was used and preserved, until, by the removal of the seat of the Caliphate from Medina to Damascus, its great utility to the Saracens was lost, and other nations were deprived of the advantage of a junction of the Mediterranean and Indian seas.*

Canal from the Nile to the Red Sea.

Invasion of Persia, A.D. 632.

From the conquest of Syria and Egypt, we turn to the conquest of Persia. The Almondars, a dynasty of Christian kings, who reigned under the shadow of the Persian monarchy in the cities

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. I. p. 39. ed. Wesselengii. D'Anville, Mémoires sur l'Egypte, p. 108—110; and Ockley.

cities of Hira and Anbar, near the Euphrates, and westward of the ruins of Babylon, were the first foreign princes who felt the edge of the invincible Caled's sword; and the imposition of an annual tax of seventy thousand pieces of gold, was the earliest source of revenue to the treasury at Medina. The war in Syria diverted, for a time, the storm from Persia, but when in the reign of Omar prosperity and enthusiasm had raised formidable Moslem armies, the successors of Cyrus, as well as the descendants of Cæsar, trembled before a people until then despised and unknown. An unskilful commander of the Saracenian force lost the fruits of the victories of Caled, and four thousand Moslems were drowned in their retreat across the Euphrates. But disasters served only to quicken the energies of the Saracens. Their armies became more numerous, and better appointed; they despoiled the merchants, who frequented the fair at the village of Bagdad in Assyria or Irak, and the injured traders approached the throne of the Chrosoes for protection and redress. The Persian sceptre was at that time swayed by the feeble hand of a woman. The nobles and the priests removed her from a station unfitted to her sex, but feelings not purely patriotic must have influenced revolutionists, who could entrust the CHAP. II.

safety

CHAP. II.

safety of a kingdom in an hour of danger to an inexperienced youth. At the age of fifteen years, Yezdegerd, the son of Chrosoes, was drawn from his peaceful retirement at Istakar, the ancient Persepolis in Fars, to succeed the Queen Arzema. The hosts of Persia were as numerous and feeble as they had been in the days of Darius. A force of one hundred and twenty thousand of the soldiers of the great king, arrayed for a royal pageant, rather than for a military conflict, met thirty thousand Arabs in the plains of Cadesia, two stations from Cufa. For three days the battle continued with various success, but on the morning of the fourth, the courage of the Saracens prevailed, and the victory of Cadesia was followed by the submission to the Caliph of Irak or Assyria. The Persian army crossed the Tigris, the Moslems pursued them with destruction and slaughter, till their progress was arrested by a city of such mingled luxury and strength, that it had invited the cupidity of the Romans, but resisted the utmost force of their engines of war. "This is the white palace of "Chrosoes, this is the promise of the Apostle of "God," exclaimed the Moslems, in astonishment at the riches and magnificence of Madyan or Ctesiphon. The town was sacked, and the Arabic writers are eloquent in their descriptions of the richness and quantity of the spoil. Yezdegerd

Battle of Cadesia, A. D. 636.

Sack of Madyan, A. D. 637.

degerd fled to Holwan at the foot of the Median hills. Another Persian army crowded around him, and he descended to Jalula, again to feel the edge of the Moslem scimitar. The wretched monarch deserted his country, crossed the Oxus, and dragged out a miserable existence under the protection of the Scythian shepherds. But the Persian nation fought for their independence, though the king had resigned his crown. In the battle of Nehavend, one hundred and fifty thousand slaves of Asiatic despotism shewed their abhorrence of foreign dominion; but the Arabs were victorious, and so great were the consequences, or so tremendous the conflict, that the title of *victory of victories* distinguished the day which annexed Persia to the Caliphate. The ancient government of the Persians was overturned; their laws were trampled upon, and their civil transactions disturbed, by the forcible substitution of the lunar for the solar calendar: whilst their language, which the laws of nature preserved from immediate or ulterior annihilation, became almost overwhelmed by an introduction of Arabic words, which, from that period, religion, authority, and fashion, incorporated with their idiom. The faith of Zoroaster had been corrupted by the gross fancies of the vulgar, and to the pure eye of the Arabian Unitarians, the Persians appeared idolators.

CHAP. II.

Battles of Jalula and Nehavend, A. D. 640, &c.

and conquest of Persia.

CHAP. II. tors. The conquerors destroyed the books of the Magi, and the choice of conversion or tribute, which was offered to the Jews and Christians, was to the Persians changed to the dismal alternative of destruction or conversion. The body of the nation repeated the holy apothegm, that there was but one God, and that Muhammed was his Prophet, and the small remainder of confirmed enthusiasts sheltered themselves in the mountains of Kuhistan.*

It would be tedious and unprofitable to detail the different events which attended the submission of the governors of the various provinces of Persia, but a circumstance involved with the fall of the province of Anważ and Susa is so illustrative of oriental manners, that I willingly insert it, in order to relieve the sanguinary uniformity of the Saracenian annals. The Arabs besieged Harmozan, the governor of this province, in his castle at Susa. The fortress soon surrendered, and the Persian Satrap was conducted to Medina, where, at the moment of his arrival, the Caliph was reposing himself amidst a crowd of paupers, on the steps of the great mosque. The Persian, unaccustomed to associate the ideas of simplicity of manners with the

* Richardson's Dissertation on the Languages, &c. of the East, p. 22-24, 8vo. 1778.

the power of royalty, requested to be conducted into the presence of Omar. The Caliph, awakened by the noise, directed the Moslems to lead their prisoner into a chamber of the mosque. Seated in the chair of Muhammed, the conqueror commanded his captive to be stripped of his gorgeous habiliments, and asked him, whether he was sensible of the judgments of God, and of the different rewards of infidelity and obedience? "Alas," replied Harmozan, "I "feel them too deeply. In the days of our "common ignorance, we fought with the wea- "pons of the flesh, and my nation was superior: "God was then neuter: since he has espoused "your quarrel, you have subverted our king- "dom and religion." The Persian complained of thirst, and wished to drink in the presence of his conqueror, since, according to the custom of the orientals, that circumstance would have entitled the prisoner to the privileges of his friendship. "Why do you ask for water?" demanded the Caliph. "My thirst is intolera- "ble," answered the Satrap, "and I ask for "water for the preservation of my life." "Your "life is not in danger till you have drank the "water," said the Caliph. The crafty Harmozan dashed the vase to the ground. Though a promise of perpetual safety was far from being the meaning of Omar, yet the calls of CHAP. II.

CHAP. II.

mercy and the sacred solemnity of justice forbad the Caliph from recalling his unguarded language.

Death of Omar, A.D. 644.

The death of Omar, by an assassin's hand, occurred in the twenty-third year of the Hegira. This respected chief, in distrust of the merits of his companions for the arduous office of supreme lord of the Muselmans, left the appointment to the discretion of six commissioners. The haughty spirit of Ali refused to govern with the assistance of two seniors,* but the ambitious though less scrupulous Othman gladly received the office, upon any conditions.

Reign of Othman, A.D. 644-654.

Under his reign, the Moslems crossed the Tigris at the bridge of Mosul, and subjugated large districts of Armenia and Mesopotamia. In the reign of Omar they had approached the Caspian Sea: the cities of Balk, Thous, Herat and Nischabour, in the regions of independent barbarism,

* The proposition to Ali was, that he should take the government upon condition of administering it according to the Koran, the traditions of Muhammed, and the determination of the two seniors. It is more probable, that the last clause meant the examples of his two predecessors, and not the assistance of two colleagues. In the reign of Othman, no mention is made by the Arabic historians of two coadjutors, though Othman, like all the other Caliphs, invariably consulted the chiefs of the different tribes on the great points of state policy.

rism, fell before the generals of Othman, and the rapid Oxus divided the territories of the Saracens and the Tartars. The fondness of Othman for his own family had well nigh lost the Arabs their rich domain of Egypt. The Caliph recalled Amrou from the government of a country, in which he had made himself beloved by his justice, his clemency, and his spirit of accommodation. On his departure, the regency at Constantinople, in the minority of the son of Heraclius, followed the wishes of the people for the recovery of this former granary of the empire, and the city of Alexandria was besieged by the Grecian navy. The christians of Egypt, in apprehension of the punishment they would receive from the Byzantine court for their submission to the Saracens, implored the Caliph to reinstate Amrou. Public necessity was paramount over private prejudices; the victorious Saracen received his commission from the Caliph, and drove the fleet and army of the Romans from the walls of Alexandria. On the occasion of another attack, Amrou was recalled from the conquest of Africa to defend the capital of Egypt. Enraged at a repetition of the attempt of the Syrians, and the obstinacy of their perseverance, he avowed his determination to demolish the walls of the town, (if God gave him the victory) and make it as accessible CHAP. II.

CHAP. II.

as the house of a courtesan. The bravery of his Saracens enabled him to redeem his pledge, Alexandria was dismantled, but the indiscriminate slaughter of Egyptians and Greeks was stopped by Amrou, and the mosque of mercy commemorated for ages, the spot where the Saracenian hero commanded the scimitar of destruction to be sheathed.

Invasion of Africa, A.D. 647.

With the sword in one hand, and the Koran in the other, Abdallah, the general of Othman, conducted forty thousand valiant Arabs from the camp at Memphis, to the conversion or subjugation of the unknown regions of the west. The siege of Tripoli was suspended by the appearance in the field of the prefect Gregory, with one hundred and twenty thousand Roman troops, and Moorish or barbarian auxiliaries.* The

On the names Moors and Barbarians.

* The words Moors and Barbars have been used, however incorrectly, as synonimous terms by almost every writer. Moor is the derivative from Mauretania, and was applied both to the Arabian conquerors of that part of Africa, and to the Arabian conquerors of Spain. The word Barbarian (Bar-bar) was the natural mockery of bad speaking, but in the time of Herodotus it was used as the distinguishing term for nations foreign from Greece. Its primitive contemptuous meaning was lost when the proudest nations adopted it. The Romans willingly called themselves Barbarians, even so late as the days of Plautus. But afterwards they applied the word to nations who spoke not Latin, and then extended it to the enemies of the empire, who

The representative of the Greek emperor rejected with disdain the usual choice of conversion or tribute, and the Saracenian general broke up his camp before the walls of Tripoli. In the midst of a sandy plain, the battle was prolonged for several days, from the earliest appearance of light, till a noon-day sun compelled the soldiers of each army to seek the shelter of their tents. But Zobeir, a genius in war, terminated this irregular conflict. A part of the Moslem force had been separated from their general, and the commander of the division sent twelve of his bravest soldiers to penetrate the camp of the Greeks. In the darkness of the night they avoided the enemy, and with a perseverance CHAP. II.

who were of course strangers to their language. Ovid speaking of himself in Pontus says, "Barbarus hic ego "sum, quia non intelligo ulli." The people of Malta were called barbarians by reason of the mixed language they used. In old authors, therefore, the word barbarian has not always an opprobious sense. The northern coast of Africa is the only country which has retained the appellation Barbary. The Vandal conquerors received the title, and no one will question the propriety of its continuance in Africa through all political revolutions. Strabo, lib. 14. p. 662. edit. Casaubon 1707. Stephen's Greek Thesaurus in loco. Krebsius Observ. Flav. p. 268. Chenier's Recherches sur les Maures, Discours Prelim In the notes to Adams' Narrative of a Residence at Tombuctoo, Mr. Dupuis has most correctly stated the present use of these words.

CHAP. II.

perseverance which despised all refreshment of the senses, reached their Moslem brethren in the battle of the morning. The searching eye of Zobeir met not Abdallah. "Where," said he, "is our general?"—"He is in his "tent," was the reply. "Is the tent a station "for the general of the Moslems?" indignantly exclaimed the indefatigable Saracen, on finding that Abdallah had really retired from the field. "Nay," replied the chief, when he was discovered by Zobeir, "a price has been set "upon my head; one hundred thousand pieces "of gold, and the hand of the daughter of the "prefect, have been offered to any Christian or "Muselman, who shall take the head of the "general of the Saracens into the camp of the "enemy. She is fighting by the side of her "father, and her incomparable charms fire the "youth of both armies. My friends have so-"licited me to quit the field, as the loss of "their general might be fatal to the cause."—"Retort on the infidels," said the undaunted Zobeir, "their unmanly attempt. Proclaim "through the ranks, that the head of Gregory "shall be repaid with his captive daughter, and "the equal sum of one hundred thousand "pieces of gold." The adventurous Saracen conceived and executed a plan for the overthrow of the Greeks. On the following morning

ing, a part only of the Moslem army carried on the usual desultory conflict with their foes, as long as the heat was supportable. The Muselmans retired to their camp, threw down their swords, laid their bows across their saddles, and by every appearance of lassitude deceived the enemy into security. But at the signal of Zobeir, a large body of his troops, fresh, active, and vigorous, sprung from the concealment of their tents, and mounted their horses. The Romans, astonished and fainting with fatigue, hastily seized their arms; but their ranks were soon broken by the impetuous Saracens, Gregory was slain, and the scattered fugitives from the field sought refuge in Sufetala. But on the first attack, this city yielded; and in the division of the spoil, two thousand pieces of gold were the share of every horseman, and one thousand pieces of every foot soldier. The spirited daughter of Gregory had animated by her courage and her exhortations the soldiers of her country, till a squadron of horse led her captive into the presence of Abdallah. The affecting testimony of her tears, at the sight of Zobeir, proved that he was the destroyer of her father. "Why do you not claim the rich reward of "your conquest?" enquired Abdallah, in astonishment at the modesty or indifference of Zobeir, at the sight of so much beauty. "I fight," replied CHAP. II.

CHAP. II. replied the enthusiast, "for glory and religion, "and despise all ignoble motives." The general of the Saracens forced however upon the reluctant chief the virgin and the gold, and pleased his martial spirit, with the office of communicating to the Caliph at Medina the success of his faithful soldiers.

Disaffection to Othman.

The unlimited obedience of the Moslems to Abu-Beker and Omar was not continued to Othman. His partiality to his family, his appropriation of the public money to the use of his friends, and his presumption to sit in the highest seat of the pulpit, though Abu-Beker and Omar had occupied only the first or the second steps, were the real or alleged crimes, which prompted the Arabs to shake off their allegiance. The oppressed and the factious subjects of the Caliph in Egypt, in Syria, and Persia, assembled in the neighbourhood of Medina, and demanded justice. The Caliph satisfied all their requisitions, but the malignant and ambitious spirit of Ayesha was not readily appeased. She wished the throne to be filled by one of her own partisans, and she secretly assisted all the machinations of the rebels. A mandate, forged in the Caliph's hand-writing, for the murder of the Egyptian lieutenant, whom he had been compelled to name, was placed within the reach of the deputies from Egypt; the torch of civil

discord was lighted once more, and the insurgents besieged the injured Othman in his palace. Hassan and Hossein, the sons of Ali, protected him awhile, and some remains of respect for a legitimate successor of the Prophet, suspended his fate. But the animosity of the rebels strengthened, the gates of the palace were forced, the chief conspirators entered the apartment in which the Caliph was seated studying the Koran, and the blood of his faithful attendants was shed in vain, in defending their venerated chief from his enemies.

Murder of Othman A. D. 654.

On the murder of Othman, twenty-two years after the death of Muhammed, the vast and splendid empire of Arabia, Persia, Syria, and Egypt, was committed to the charge of the son of Abu-Taleb. As the chief of the family of Haschem, and as the cousin and son-in-law of him whom the Arabians respected almost to idolatry, it is apparently wonderful that Ali was not raised to the Caliphate immediately on the death of Muhammed. To the advantages of his birth and marriage, was added the friendship of the Prophet. The son of Abu-Taleb was one of the first converts to Islamism, and Muhammed's favourite appellation of him was, the Aaron of a second Moses. His talents as an orator, and his intrepidity as a warrior, were grateful to a nation, in whose judgment courage

Reign of Ali, A. D. 655—660.

His character.

CHAP. II.

rage was virtue, and eloquence was wisdom. But the pride and loftiness of his spirit endured not the caution inseparable from schemes of policy, and continually precipitated him into rashness. His opposition to Abu-Beker would not have ceased, if Fatima had lived; but on her death, six months after that of her father, the companions of Muhammed relaxed in their friendship to his family. In the reigns of Abu-Beker, Omar, and Othman, a dignified independence was preserved by Ali. On the invitation of the Caliphs, he assisted in the councils at Medina; but he was principally occupied in the tranquil pursuits of domestic life, and the various duties of his religion. On the murder of Othman, the Egyptians, who were at Medina, offered him the Caliphate. Indignant that the power of nomination should be usurped by strangers, Ali declared, that the suffrages of the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina alone could be available. The public voice soon echoed the opinions of the murderers, and the scruples of Ali were removed. In apprehension of the enmity of Ayesha, his relentless foe, and of the whole family of Moawiyah, he declined to receive in private the proffered allegiance of the chiefs. With his accustomed simplicity, he proceeded to the mosque clad in a cotton gown, a coarse turban bound his head, his

his slippers were in one hand, and a bow, instead of a staff, occupied the other. The assembled chiefs of tribes gave him their hands in token of fealty; but he declared with sincerity to Telha and Zobeir, two friends of the house of Moawiyah, his willingness to resign his claims to either, or to any other person who might receive the public choice. CHAP. II.

Disaffection to Ali.

The political convulsions ended not with the death of Othman. Moawiyah possessed the affections of the army of Syria, and the Caliph's refusal of the governorships of Cufa and Bassora to Telha and Zobeir, converted the precarious friendship of these chiefs into implacable hatred. The various lieutenants scattered throughout the Empire were disaffected to Ali. If the mildness of Othman could not, in the commencement of the rebellion, have stilled the spirit of clamour, it was in vain for Ali to attempt to conciliate men, whose sedition had been encouraged by success. The circumstances of the times justified him in the bold measure, of commanding the governors of the provinces to quit their several stations. But the armies refused their respect to the friends of Ali, so long as the murder of Othman remained unavenged. The bloody shirt of the late Caliph was suspended over the pulpit of Damascus, and sixty thousand Saracens were seduced from their allegiance, to become the instruments

CHAP. II.

instruments of faction. Ayesha, who had in reality assisted the murderers of Othman, but whose hatred of Ali was more inveterate than of his predecessor, invited the lovers of justice to assemble at Medina. At the head of three thousand men, and assisted by Telha and Zobeir, she crossed the deserts of Arabia, and encamped near Bassora. The lieutenant of Ali was surprised and overpowered, but the widow of the Prophet was openly reproved, for quitting that solitude which was so becoming to her situation, and exposing her person and character in the tumult of a camp.

Battle of Bassora, or Day of the Camel.

At the head of twenty thousand loyal Arabs, Ali passed from Medina into Irak, ten thousand men of Cufa strengthened his cause, and under the walls of Bassora he triumphed over rebellion. Telha and Zobeir were slain, and the mother of the faithful was led a captive into the tent of Ali. Seated on a camel, she had in the thickest of the battle excited the martial ardour of her partisans; the hands of three score and ten men, which conducted the animal, were cut off, and the showers of arrows which pierced the litter in which she rode gave it the appearance of a porcupine. Round the camel her soldiers continually rallied, but some friends of Ali slew the animal, and the battle was called the Day of the Camel. The widow of Muhammed

Muhammed was received with respect by his successor. He gently urged the propriety of her return to her domestic station at Medina, and his two sons, Hassan and Hossein, accompanied her on her journey. Ali reposed himself in Cufa, a city on the western side of the Euphrates, which the Saracens had built, when they disliked the air and situation of Ctesiphon. CHAP. II.

Established in Irak, the Caliph received the submission of Egypt, Arabia, Persia and Korasan, and thought that the sword of rebellion was broken. But he was speedily summoned from his tranquillity by a powerful foe. Moawiyah had concealed his ambition under the mask of patriotism, and eighty thousand Arabians and auxiliaries, in the ample plains of Siffin, on the western bank of the Euphrates between Irak and Syria, acknowledged him to be a more lawful Caliph than Ali the accused murderer of Othman. In the course of one hundred and ten days, there were ninety skirmishes and battles between the hostile armies. Five and forty thousand of the friends of Moawiyah, and twenty-five thousand of the soldiers of Ali, fell in this civil war. The cousin of Muhammed, with a generosity of soul rare in Asiatic princes, commanded his troops invariably to await the attack, to spare the fugitives, and to respect the virtue of the female captives. Rebellion of Moawiyah.

Nor

CHAP. II. Nor was his valour less conspicuous than his humanity. "How long," said Ali to Moawiyah, "shall the people lose their lives in our "controversies? I challenge you to appeal to "the decision of God and the sword." But his adversary declined this test of their merits, for the personal prowess of Ali was proverbial in the army.

In the morning after a nocturnal battle, the victory of Ali appeared no longer doubtful; but a stratagem of Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt and friend of Moawiyah, deceived the soldiers of the lawful Caliph. The Koran was hoisted on the points of the lances of the Syrian soldiers, and the cry was repeated, that that book ought to decide all differences. In vain did Ali represent to his Arabs the insidiousness of the appeal; their enthusiasm was excited, they forgot their allegiance, and bowed in veneration before the word of the Apostle. The battle was suspended, the armies retired to their several camps, and a long negotiation ensued. The authority of Ali declined from day to day, and rebellion, always more rapidly contagious than a pestilence, spread throughout the Caliphate. The Charegites, a sect of religious and political zealots, closed the career of Ali. In the open field he had defeated their force, but three of the fugitives resolved upon his murder in expiation

tion of the death of their comrades. In the disordered imagination of the Charegites, peace would never be restored to their country during the lives of Moawiyah and Amrou. Each of the three confederates chose his victim and poisoned his dagger. The secretary of Amrou received a blow, which was meditated for his master; Moawiyah was severely wounded; but in the mosque of Cufa, the dagger of the assassin was plunged into the breast of Ali, and the generous chief died in the sixty-third year of his age, commanding his son not to aggravate the sufferings of the murderer by useless torture.* CHAP. II. Murder of Ali, A. D. 660, and

On the death of Ali, his eldest son Hassan was saluted Caliph by the Cufians, but Moawiyah was in possession of Syria, Egypt, and Arabia, and the unambitious descendant of Muhammed soon retired to a life of piety and ease at Medina. But the simple recluse was still an object of

* This is Abulfeda's well drawn character of Ali:—In Alio exemplum spectes boni principis fortis, justitiam amantis, quo meliorem non vidit orbis Muhammedanus, et quem haud incongrue cum M. Antonino philosopho compares, sed quem adversa fortuna et ambitiosæ feminæ ira, perjuriis nixa et sustentata sicariis pessumdabat. Bello vincebat ille semper: et nihilo secius tamen semper succumbebat, nullumque reportabat victoriarum lucrum malis artibus adversarii Moawiæ elusus. In hoc pari composito videas luctantem cum calliditate vim, cum nequitia probitatem, et illam semper hac potiorem. Reiske, p. 239, Abulfeda's Syria. Version Kohler.

CHAP. II.

of jealousy in the eyes of Moawiyah, the supreme lord of the Moslem world. Yezid, the son of the Caliph, professed a passion for the wife of Hassan, and instigated her to poison the beloved grandson of the founder of the Saracenian greatness.

of his son Hassan.

The interest which is naturally attached to the family of Ali, will authorise us to overlook the order of time, and narrate the fate of Hossein. The death of Moawiyah renewed the feelings of affection of the friends of Muhammed for the child of his Fatima. The weakness and dissoluteness of Yezid, the second Caliph of the house of Moawiyah, suggested the thought of reinstating the family of Haschem on the throne; and the Cufians and Irakins, to the number of one hundred and forty thousand, swore to support the cause of Hossein. But these auxiliaries were as treacherous to the son, as they had been to Ali. Hossein crossed the desert; but Obeidollah, the governor of Cufa, had quelled an insurrection in his province; and the hapless child of Fatima was surrounded in the plain of Kerbela by the cavalry of his enemy. He attempted to obtain the honourable condition of peace; of a return to Medina; of a safe conduct into the presence of Yezid; or of a station in a frontier garrison against the Turks. But the lieutenant of the Caliph despised an enemy who

Melancholy fate of Hossein.

who could not enforce his pretensions by the sword; and the choice of captivity or death, was the only answer he returned to the peaceful propositions of Hossein. CHAP. II.

Resignation and tranquillity of mind distinguished the son of Ali, as clearly as courage had ennobled the founders of his house. The lamentations of his sister were loud and frequent. "I wish," she exclaimed, "that I had "died yesterday, rather than have lived till to-"day. My mother Fatima is dead, and my "father Ali, and my brother Hassan. Alas "for the destruction that is past, and the dregs "of it that remain behind!" "Sister," replied Hossein, "put your trust in God, and know "that every thing shall perish, but the presence "of God who created all things by his power, "and shall make them return to him alone. "My father, my mother, my brother, were "better than I, and we all have an example in "the Apostle of God." His friends would not listen to his suggestions that they should seek safety in flight, and exclaimed against the disgrace of surviving their master. A trench was dug round the flanks and rear of the camp, and the faithful band was secure from the approach of the enemy except in the front. The night was passed in prayer, and on the morning, Hossein mounted his horse, and appeared before his

CHAP. II. seventy-two associates, who anxiously expected the joys of Paradise from the swords of their enemies. With the Koran in his hand, he declared that God was his confidence in every trouble, and his hope in all adversity. The enemy advanced with reluctance, and Harro, one of their chiefs, deserted with thirty followers to Hossein, to claim the partnership of inevitable death. "Oh, ye Cufians," said Harro, "you invited the son of the Apostle's daughter "till he came among you, and then you de- "ceived him. You now not only dare to fight "against him, but you have hindered him, and "his wives, and his family, from the water of "the Euphrates, which Jews and Christians and "Sabians drink, and where hogs and dogs sport "themselves." But the generosity of the Cufians was not awakened, and their base treachery merited the supplicatory expression of Hossein: "Let not the dews of Heaven distil upon them, "and withhold thou from them the blessings of "the earth, for they first invited me, and then "deceived me." In every close onset, says Mr. Gibbon (on the authority of Ockley), in every single combat, the despair of the Fatimites was invincible; but the surrounding multitudes galled them from a distance with a cloud of arrows, and the horses and men were successively slain: a truce was allowed on both sides

for

for the hour of prayer, and the battle at length expired by the death of the last of the companions of Hossein. Alone, weary, and wounded, the son of Ali seated himself at the door of his tent. As he tasted a drop of water, he was pierced in the mouth with a dart; and his son and nephew, two beautiful youths, were killed in his arms. He lifted his hands to heaven, they were full of blood, and he uttered a funeral prayer for the living and the dead. In a transport of despair his sister issued from the tent, and adjured the general of the Cufians, that he would not suffer Hossein to be murdered before his eyes; a tear trickled down his venerable beard, and the boldest of his soldiers fell back on every side, as the dying hero threw himself among them. The remorseless Shamar, a name detested by the faithful, reproached their cowardice, and the grandson of Muhammed was slain with three and thirty strokes of lances and swords. After they had trampled on his body, they carried his head to the castle of Cufa, and the inhuman Obeidollah struck him on the mouth with a cane. "Alas," exclaimed an aged Muselman, "on those lips "have I seen the lips of the Apostle of God." The sisters and children of Ali were brought in chains to the throne of Damascus. The

CHAP. II.

A. D. 680.

CHAP. II. Caliph was advised to extirpate the enemy of a popular and hostile race, whom he had injured beyond the hope of reconciliation, but Yezid preferred the counsels of mercy, and the mourning family were honourably dismissed, to mingle their tears with their kindred at Medina.

Posterity of Muhammed and Ali. The descendants of Ali, though excluded for ever from the Universal Caliphate, have in all ages of Islamism enjoyed the veneration of the faithful. In every Muhammedan country they have occasionally filled the throne, and the various offices of life, from the prince to the beggar, have been ennobled by the family of Muhammed. In Arabia they are called Scherifs, or Seids; in Syria and Turkey, Emirs; in Africa, Persia, and India, Seids: and when we consider, that according to the Muselman law, it is sufficient for the ratification of a claim to this distinction, that either the father or mother of a child should be of the family of Muhammed, we shall not wonder, that the descendants of the Prophet are numerous in every quarter of the Moslem world. Whole villages in Arabia are full of them. In Turkey they constitute a thirtieth part of the nation. The green turban is not always the external sign of a descendant of Muhammed. The beggars often wear it, and one of the Danish traveller's servants carried it without

without offence to the Arabs. In Turkey, however, it is still the great distinction of the descendants of Fatima.*

Dynasty of the Ommiades. A. D. 661—750.

From the middle of the seventh to a like period of the eighth century of the Christian æra, the family of Moawiyah were invested with the regal and sacerdotal office. This dynasty is called the dynasty of the Ommiades, from the Caliph Moawiyah or Ommia, the first of the house, the son of Abu-Sophian, the successor of Abu-Taleb in the principality of Mecca. By Moawiyah important changes were made in the power of election. The choice of the army, and not the choice of the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina, gave him the Caliphate, and he had sufficient power to establish in favour of his own family the right of primogeniture. The families of Moawiyah and of Muhammed were of the same tribe, but according to the principles of legitimacy, the throne belonged to the descendants of Fatima; and even the children of Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet, had a claim prior to that of Moawiyah. The murderers of

* Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, p. 10.—D'Ohsson, tom. 1, p. 211; tom. 4, 556—S. Thornton, Present State of Turkey, p. 265. In Arabia the name of Scherif is applied to the descendants of Muhammed who devote themselves to war; the name Seid to those who follow commerce. The word Scherif sometimes means the descendants of Hossein, and Seid the descendants of Hassan.

29578

CHAP. II.

Ali had enjoyed the Caliphate ninety years, when their subjects relaxed in their allegiance, and thought with veneration of the rightful owners of the throne. The Fatimites had no leader of talents or bravery, but the hopes of the discontented subjects of Marvan, the Ommiadan prince, were fixed on Muhammed, the great grandson of Abbas. The province of Korasan swore allegiance to Muhammed, and on his death the oath was renewed in favour of his son Ildrahim. The author of the revolution was Abu Moslem, a man of mean extraction, but raised by his merit to the governorship of Korasan. He assembled all his retainers at Meru, the capital of his government; he commanded them to wear their garments of a black colour, in order to distinguish them from the white robes of the adherents of Marvan. A black standard was placed in his van, and its name of Zel, literally expresses shade, and metaphorically, succour and protection. As the ambition of Moawiyah had been masked by the patriotic wish of revenging the murder of Othman, so the unhallowed deaths of Ali and his sons formed the pretext for the rebellion of Ildrahim. The white and the black factions convulsed the wide extent of the Moslem world with the horrors of civil war. If the exertions of military talents were always crowned with success

success, Marvan would have retained his throne. In the life of his father he had been governor of Mesopotamia, where the warlike breed of asses who never fly from an enemy, attach to the word ass, the popular idea of the perfection of a man.* Marvan was honoured with this singular appellation, and his abilities deserved every epithet of praise. Ildrahim and a numerous retinue were proceeding on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, in order to restore to the inhabitants of those cities, so venerable in the eyes of the Moslems, their valuable privilege of determining the order of the succession to the Caliphate: but the cavalry of Marvan intercepted the caravans, and Ildrahim was immured in the prison of Haran. His brother Saffah was proclaimed Caliph at Cufa, yet the arms of Marvan were successful in every quarter, and one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers were prepared to deprive the new Caliph of his dignity. The armies met, and the small force of Saffah trembled before their foe. The fortune of nations often depends on accidents. A particular purpose compelled Marvan to dismount. The animal, alarmed at some sudden noise, fled into the ranks of his master's army, and the soldiers, panic struck at the sight of the horse, believed that its rider had been slain.

Destruction of the Ommiadan dynasty.

 The

* Biblioth. Orient. tom. 2. p. 570.

CHAP. II.

The cavalry of Saffah, conducted by his uncle Abdallah, charged in this moment of dismay, and the soldiers of Marvan were routed and dispersed. The unfortunate hero took flight to Damascus, but the Damascenes despised a vanquished prince. He then fled to Busir, on the banks of the Nile, and in an engagement with his enemy the lance of an Arab terminated his life. The right of Saffah was acknowledged through all the Moslem provinces. His fears and his hatred of the house of Moawiyah suggested the dreadful idea of exterminating the race; the daggers of the Caliph were plunged in the breasts of thousands of the hostile family; and so remorseless and insatiable was the cruelty of the sons of Abbas, that during a public entertainment at Damascus the laws of hospitality were violated, and eighty persons, descendants of Moawiyah, who had accepted the proffered protection of the Caliph, were murdered.

Dynasty of the Abassides, A.D. 750-1258.

The family of Muhammed ascended once more the pulpit of their ancestor, and were lords of the whole, or a part of the Moslem world, during the remainder of the existence of the power of the Saracens. In the early days of the Abassides, the indivisibility of the Caliphate ceased: nominal or real descendants of Ali and Fatima had possessed themselves of the thrones of

Triple division of the Caliphate.

Africa

Africa and Egypt; and a prince of the Ommiades, who escaped the general massacre of his family, usurped the power of the Abassides in Spain, The Caliphate, by these means, became divided into three branches;—first Spain; second, Africa and Egypt; and third, Bagdad. The reign of the four companions of Muhammed, namely, of Abu-Beker, Omar, Othman, and Ali, is honoured by the title of the Perfect Caliphate, as that of their successors is called the Imperfect Caliphate. The Ommiades are generally called Caliphs of Syria, because they dwelt at Damascus; but the Abassides quitted this detested seat of the dominion of their enemies, fixed their court at Cufa, and thence transferred it to Haschemiah, on the Euphrates. Almansor, the second prince of the family of Abbas, erected a spacious and magnificent city, called Bagdad,* on the ruins of the village of that name; and from the constant residence of the Abassidan monarchs in this abode of peace, as the word Bagdad signifies, they have generally been distinguished by the title of the Caliphs of Bagdad. CHAP. II. A. D. 760.

The reigns of the four immediate successors of Muhammed claimed a detailed history. By the generals of Abu-Beker, Omar, and Othman, conquests

* The situation and description of Bagdad are set down by Niebuhr with his usual accuracy. Voyage en Arabie, tom. ii, p. 239-270.

CHAP. II.

conquests more rapid and extensive than any which the pen of history has recorded, were achieved; and the life of Ali was memorable for the civil wars which distracted Syria and Arabia. In viewing the fleeting dynasties of the Ommiades and Abassides, it would have been tediously unprofitable to connect the military events in the Saracenian history with the reigns of individual Caliphs. The companions of Muhammed had been distinguished by their courage and abilities, and in twenty years, Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia, were subdued; but their numerous successors bore the common stamp of kings, and the progress of conquest was more gradual than when Caled and Amrou led the Saracenian hosts. From this brief view, then, of the dynasties of the Caliphs, we will return to the military history of the Saracens.

Continuation of the conquests of the Saracens.

Subjugation of Africa, A. D. 647-709.

The cruel devastations of Othman's generals in Africa had no decisive issues, and more than fifty years elapsed before the Arabic yoke was permanently imposed upon the various Roman provinces between the Red Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. A campaign of fifteen months had exhausted Abdallah's army, and those who survived the usual waste of war returned to Medina laden with spoil, but without a hope or desire of erecting a permanent dominion in the countries they had ravaged. The domestic dissentions in Medina,

Medina, during the reign of Ali, checked all ambition of foreign conquest. On the departure of the Saracens from Africa, the Emperor of Constantinople, in utter disregard of the wretched state of the provincials, imposed upon his African subjects new and oppressive taxes. The mumurings of the people against this injustice, and their declared preference of a Saracenian governor, reached the court of Damascus; and the conquest of Africa was resolved upon by those who already had subjugated Asia. In a war of forty years, the Greeks were expelled from their interior provinces; and on the fall of Carthage, all their settlements on the sea coast, from Tripoli to Tangiers, were added to the empire of the Saracens. The Barbarians—the natives of Northern Africa—after some struggles for independence in government and religion, reposed their faith in the unity of God and the divine mission of his prophet. Between the Bedoweens of Arabia, and the Berebbers or Barbarians of Africa, there was a striking similarity of character. Both nations were wanderers over a sandy ocean, and their government, their national independence, and their mode of life, were necessarily the same.* It was, therefore, a natural and easy circumstance, that when the Africans adopted the religion of the

CHAP. II.

* Chenier's Recherches sur les Maures, tom. i, p. 147.

CHAP. II. the Arabs, they should adopt their name and language also.

The Arabian writers are so general and incorrect in their geographical statements, that it is scarcely possible to trace the limits of the Muselman dominions in the heart of Africa. But some notion of them may be formed from the memorable fanatical conduct of one of the greatest Moslem heroes. Ackbar, the general of the Caliph Moawiyah, crossed the wilderness, in which were afterwards erected the magnificent cities of Fez and Morocco, and arrived at the Atlantic Ocean at the mouth of the Susa. He spurred his horse into the waves, and raising his eyes to heaven exclaimed, "Great "God! if my course were not stopped by this "sea, I would still go on, to the unknown "kingdoms of the west, preaching the unity of "thy holy name, and putting to the sword the "rebellious nations who worship any other "Gods but thee." Even in the Caliphate of Moawiyah, a city was founded fifty miles to the south of Tunis, for the purpose of a refuge to the Moslems and for a station of power to overawe and controul the surrounding inconstant Moors. Cairon is, in the present day, the second city of Tunis, and the burial place of its kings; but in the bright days of Muhammedan greatness, porphyry, granite, and Numidian marble

marble adorned the mosque which the general of Omar erected; and the professors of arts and sciences were invited to the deserts of Africa, by the useful munificence of the Fatimite princes.*

Conquest of Spain, A. D. 709-714.

To the proud imagination of an European which unjustly represents the Asiatics as nations slothful, nerveless, and effeminate, the Muhammedan invasion of Europe seems peculiarly odious and daring. But when the African conquest was achieved, the passage into Western Europe was easy; and Spain, which had been successively subdued by the Carthagenians, the Romans, and the Goths, was now doomed to feel a Moslem yoke. At the commencement of the eighth century, Roderic, the last of the Gothic kings, was on the throne. In indignation at the private crimes and political profligacy of his predecessor Witika, the people had revolted, and placed the sceptre in the more worthy hands of his relation Roderic. The Count Julian, one of the greatest of the Spanish lords, was the Governor of that part of Spain which is now called Andalusia,† and

* L'Afrique de Marmol, livre vi, c. 24. Shaw's Travels, p. 115.

† The Arabians erroneously applied this word, Andalusia —the province they first conquered—to the whole country of Spain. The word Andalusia appears to be derived from

an

CHAP. II. and the province of Mauritania-Tingitana in Africa. In Spain his authority was considerable, but the town of Ceuta or Tangiers was the only possession of the Goths in Africa which had resisted the assaults of the Saracens. We may feel little curiosity to examine the cause of Julian's treachery to Roderic; whether to adopt the Spanish romantic tale, that the seduction of his daughter Cava by the king, excited the revenge of the count, or whether the fruitless assistance which Julian afforded to the sons of Witika in their attempt to recover their inheritance, involved him in the obloquy and danger of an unsuccessful faction. But whatever the motives, whether of a public or a private nature, Julian crossed the sea, and hastened to the settlements of Mousa, governor in Africa for Walid, the sixth prince of the Ommiadan dynasty. He represented to the anxious attention of the Saracen, the degraded state of Spain. The Goths had lost their reputation for ferocity and martial prowess. The mildness of the climate, luxury, and riches, had softened their courage, and corrupted their manners. A country of fortifications had been dismantled by Witika. Jealous of his subjects more than of the neighbouring princes, and in greater

an Arabic word, which signifies the region of the West. See Biblioth. Arabico. Hispana, tom. 2, p. 327.

greater apprehension of rebellion than of invasion, Witika hastened the natural decay of the Gothic military institutions. Roderic's talents for war and politics were wasted in the licentiousness of the court of Toledo, and the affections of the nobles and clergy were estranged from his government. In the productions of those mines of gold and silver, which had attracted the cupidity of the Phœnicians, the Carthagenians, and the Romans, the country was rich; and improved and ennobled as it had been by the most polished people of antiquity, it would be an acquisition of no ordinary value. Astonished at the richness of the prize, Mousa sent the intelligence to the court at Damascus. The Caliph assented to the projects of his governor, and in a descent upon the Spanish coast, five hundred Arabians and Africans found the accounts of the wealth and effeminacy of the people not to have been exaggerated.

In the following spring, Tarik, an intrepid Saracen, led seven thousand men into Spain. He formed his first camp on Mount Calpe, one of the pillars of Hercules, and in its modern appellation of Gibraltar the name of the hero is preserved.* Conducted by Julian, the political

* Calpe was called Gebel-Tarik by the Moors. Gebel is the Arabic word for a mountain, and Tarik the name of

CHAP. II.

tical apostate, the Moors or Saracens were successful in every quarter; and the court of Toledo, on the defeat of Edeco, their lieutenant, were assured that their enemies were not to be despised. Roderic roused himself from his dream of pleasure, and the princes of the Gothic monarchy furnished him with an army of one hundred thousand men. To this formidable numerical force, only twenty thousand Arabs and Africans were opposed. On the banks of the Gaudalet, near Xeres de la Frontera, in Medina Sidonia, the fate of the kingdom of the Goths was determined.* For seven days, the armies consumed each other's strength in skirmishes and single combats. On the morning of the eighth, Roderic, dressed in his robes of silk, and seated in his car drawn by white mules, harangued his troops on the importance of the objects for which they were contending. The general of the Saracens, simple in his manners, but powerful in his eloquence, recalled to his soldiers' recollection their former exploits. "My friends!" continued he, "the enemy is before you—the sea "is behind; whither would ye fly? Follow "your

Battle of Gaudalet, and fall of the Gothic kingdom.

the commander. From this name the modern one of Gibraltar is derived. See D'Anville's Ancient Geography, and Bibl. Arab. Hisp. tom. 2, p. 326.

* Chenier's Recherches sur les Maures, liv. 3, ch. 1.

" your general; I am resolved either to lose CHAP. II.
" my life, or trample on the prostrate king of
" the Goths." * The treachery of Oppas, who was the Archbishop of Toledo and Seville, and brother of the late king, gave the victory to the Moors. At the head of his troops, this spiritual and temporal lord quitted the Gothic army, advanced some distance into the field, and then returned and charged his former friends. Roderic in vain recalled his dismayed and flying squadrons. His own courage at length deserted him; on one of his fleetest horses he escaped from the field, but perished in the waters of the Bœtis or Guadilquivir.†

Tarik, by the advice of Julian, sent different detachments of his army to subjugate Cordova, Granada, Malaga, and Tadmir, and he himself marched towards Toledo and the north. In the course of a few months, the general of the Saracens extended his conquests from Gibraltar

* Bibl. Arab. Hisp. tom. 2, p. 326.

† Such was the manner of Roderic's death, as recorded by the best Arabic historians. Biblioth. Arab. Hisp. tom. 2, p. 327. D'Anville, Etats formés en Europe après la chute de l'Empire Romain en Occident, 4to. Paris, 1777, p. 154. The death of Roderic in this simple manner did not accord with the romantic genius of the Spanish writers. They have invented, therefore, various fables respecting his conduct after his departure from the field of Xeres. Every body knows the curious account that Cervantes has given.

CHAP. II. to Gihon, on the shores of the Bay of Biscay. In this long march, the numerous bodies of Jews dispersed throughout the kingdom, and who had always been persecuted by the Christians, zealously assisted the Saracens in their conquest. The towns of Spain were allowed to retain their laws and their religion, on the payment of a tribute, which, generally speaking, was equivalent to the annual tax to the Gothic kings.

On intelligence of these conquests, Mousa was fired with jealousy of the military renown of Tarik. He crossed the straits with all his army, attacked and subjugated Seville, Merida, and the different towns which had been neglected by Tarik. In the palace of Toledo, the conqueror of Spain was deprived of his dignities by the ungrateful lieutenant of the Caliph, and even insulted by a blow from his whip. The passage of the Pyrenees was soon effected by Mousa, and an obelisk or statue was erected at Carcasson, to mark his progress in Gallia Narbonensis. In his march through Spain, his soldiers desolated the country; churches were pillaged; towns were sacked; and the misery of the vanquished appeared to constitute the happiness of the general.* The complaints of the

* Ferraras, Histoire Générale d'Espagne, traduite par D'Hermilly, tom. 2, p. 435.

the people, and of the injured Tarik, reached the Caliph. He commanded his lieutenant to repair to the judicial tribunal at Damascus, but Mousa answered not the call. A second messenger entered Mousa's camp at Lugo in Gallicia, seized the bridle of his horse, and convinced the astonished auxiliaries of the Arabian army, that services however splendid, or crimes however great, could never dissolve the connexion between the Caliph and his officers. The governments of Africa and Spain were bestowed upon Abdallah and Abdelaliz. The commander himself, and his rival Tarik, departed for Damascus. When Mousa arrived in Egypt, he heard that the Caliph Walid was dangerously ill; and Soliman, the presumptive heir of the crown, wishing to receive himself the rich booty from Spain, requested him to remain in Egypt, till the fate of the Caliph should be known. But Mousa, apprehending punishment for disobedience of orders, if Walid survived, pressed forward to Damascus, where he found Soliman on the throne. The justice of Tarik's cause was acknowledged, and the favours of the court were bestowed upon him. The exactions and rapaciousness of Mousa were punished by a fine of two hundred thousand pieces of gold, and his indignities to Tarik

CHAP. II.

CHAP. II.

were retaliated, by a public chastisement of the whip. But the weak and cruel Caliph extended his vengeance to the children of the general. Abdallah and Abdelaliz were murdered, and the head of the former was sent to the father, who had been dismissed to Mecca, to drag out in that place of pilgrimage the wretched remains of his life. "Do you know these "features?" tauntingly inquired the messenger of the Caliph. "I know them," replied the indignant father; "I assert his innocence, and "I imprecate a juster fate against the authors "of his death."

The disgrace of Mousa saved the western world from destruction. He wished to unite the other Saracenian conquests with that of Spain. France was to have been subjugated, his conquering arms were to penetrate through Germany, into Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and through Constantinople, and the Greek empire, to Antioch. But the Caliph was ignorant of the weakness of the monarchies of Europe, and rejected the plan as visionary and impracticable.

Conquest of Transoxiana, A. D. 710.

The reign of Walid was illustrated by the valour of his subjects. Tarik and Mousa conquered Spain; other Muselmans preached the Koran on the shores of the Indus; and Catabah extended

extended the terrors of the Saracenian name, even into the frozen regions of Tartary.* By these conquests, the Caliphate obtained its largest extent of territory. It has been mentioned in the course of this chapter, that in the Caliphate of Othman, the Oxus formed the boundary of the Saracens and the Tartars. Under succeeding Caliphs, the rapacious Arabs repeatedly crossed the Oxus, and in the reign of Walid, his general Catabah invaded the Turkish territories with a formidable force. The strength of the Tartarian kingdoms had been wasted in civil feuds, and the empire of China had no active military power for the protection of its neighbours. Catabah made himself master of Korasm, and his defeat of a large army of Tartars opened to him the gates of Samarcand. A city, of whatever comparative splendour, situated in the plains of Scythia, may seem to claim little attention from the people of Western Europe: yet the simple fact, that the art of manufacturing paper was received by the Arabians from the people of Samarcand, and by their means diffused over the civilized world, gives an importance to this Tartarian city,

The city of Samarcand.

* There is an excellent geographical delineation of Transoxiana, and the part of Tartary which the Saracens conquered, in the first volume of Maurice's Modern History of Hindostan, p. 198, &c.

CHAP. II. which mere magnificence never could attain.* Samarcand was famous also as the great resting place for the caravans from China to the west of Asia and Europe. Before the silkworm itself, that "first artificer of the luxury of nations," was introduced into Italy, the Romans received the article of silk from China, and the principal route of the caravans was across the great desert to Kashgar, thence to Samarcand, and through Persia to Syria.† The widely extended region between the Oxus, the Jaxartes rivers, and the Caspian sea, submitted to Catabah. The idols of the Tartarian nations were burnt, or the use of

* Bibl. Arab. Hisp. tom. 1, p. 209; tom. 2, p. 9, and the citation from Jacutus. The Arabs were the inventors of paper from linen; or, to speak more correctly, they revived the art; for Livy (lib. 4, cap. 7.) mentions some lintei libri; and Symmachus five centuries afterwards notices linen and silken paper (lib. 4, Epist. 34). Linen or cotton cloth as the Indian materials for writing is mentioned by Arrian. See Vincent's Nearchus, p. 15, note. The linen manufactories at Valentia (the classical reader remembers the sudaria Setaba of Catullus) suggested the idea of the substitution of linen for cotton, as probably the cotton manufactories in the north east of Tartary, induced the people to make paper from cotton and not from silk, or bamboo, or other substances used by their instructors the Chinese. Andres, Hist. Gén. des Sciences, tom. 1, p. 105, Paris 1805. Nouveau traité de Diplomatique, tom. 2, p. 518, Paris 1750—65.

† Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. 32, p 355.

of them allowed, on the payment of an heavy tribute. The faith of Muhammed was preached with zeal; and many a Scythian shepherd acknowledged the unity of God, and the divine mission of the Prophet of Arabia. CHAP. II.

An embassy from the Saracenian camp reached the Emperor of China. Three successive days they approached the throne, clothed in sumptuous, in plain, and in warlike apparel. The Chinese prince received the strangers with distinction, but on the third morning inquired the cause of their frequent change of dress. "Our robes on the first day," said the chief Ambassador, "are the robes in which we visit "our Sultanas. Our second appearance before "you was in the simple stile of our master's "court. But our present habiliments are those, "in which we always shew ourselves to our "enemies." The Emperor, alarmed at this language, and at the accounts daily received from the frontiers of the progress of the Saracens, courted the friendship and alliance of these formidable fanatics by satiating their cupidity for gold.* Submission of China.

In the Caliphate of Moawiyah, when Syria, Persia, Egypt, and Arabia, constituted the Saracenian Empire, the city of Constantinople Sieges of Constantinople, A.D. 668—718.

* D'Ohsson, Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman, tom. 1, p. 228, 8vo. edition.

CHAP. II. was besieged by the Moslems. Seven successive summers witnessed the enthusiasm of their arms and religion, but the courage of the Romans of the republic revived in this instance, in their Grecian successors, and the inhabitants of the metropolis made a nobler defence of their slavery than the cause deserved. At the close of this contest, the Ambassadors from the Emperor at Constantinople appeared at Damascus, as the representatives of a conquering prince, and we behold in the history of the Saracens, the singular occurrence of a payment by them of a tribute of money and horses to the Greek Emperor, at a time when they were in possession of his fairest territories in Asia. But the proud Abdalmalek, a Caliph of the Abassidan dynasty, refused this acknowledgment of submission, and his son Walid again raised the ambition of his people, by the prospect of possessing the riches of the Cæsars. His death prevented the enterprize, but time strengthened the desires of the Saracens, and in the reign of his successor Soliman, they made their last attempt upon Constantinople. In a thirteen months' siege, the natives of Arabia, of Persia, and of Egypt, were slain in thousands before the walls, and their ships were destroyed by the dreadful chemical composition of liquid bitumen, sulphur, and the pitch which is extracted from ever-

ever-green firs;—a powerful mixture which was quickened rather than extinguished by the element of water, and which therefore well merited the title of *maritime fire*. The Emperor Anastasius was rouzed, though not alarmed, by the impending danger, and his reign is memorable for the first important resistance which was made, by any power, to the tempest of the Saracenian arms. CHAP. II.

A few years after the disaster of the Saracens before the walls of Constantinople, the bold project of Mousa was renewed in the west. The Pyrenees had been crossed by the Moorish governor of Spain, and it is remarkable, that the city of Narbo should be the earliest settlement of the Moslems in the south of France, as it had been several centuries before of the Romans. The whole province of Gallia Narbonensis, the modern Languedoc, was seized by the Saracens, as a part of the Spanish monarchy; the standard of Muhammed was hoisted on the walls of Bourdeaux, and from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhone, the people submitted to the religion or arms of the Moslems. But those narrow limits, says Gibbon, were scorned by the spirit of Abdalrahman or Abderame, who had been restored by the Caliph Haschem to the wishes of the soldiers and people of Spain. That veteran and daring commander passed without opposition

Invasion of France. A.D. 731—732.

CHAP. II.

opposition the Garonne and Dordogne, which unite their waters in the gulf of Bourdeaux, but he found beyond those rivers the camp of the intrepid Eudes, the Duke of Aquitain, who after a bold resistance sustained a defeat, so fatal to the Christians, that, according to the sad confession of Isidorus, Bishop of Badajos, God alone could reckon the number of the slain. The victorious Saracen overran the provinces of Aquitain, whose Gaulish names are disguised, rather than lost, in the modern appellations of Perigord, Saintagne, and Poitou: his standards were planted on the walls, or at least before the gates, of Tours and of Sens; and his detachments overspread the kingdom of Burgundy, as far as the well known cities of Lyons and Besançon. The memory of these devastations, for Abderame did not spare the people, affords the ground work of those fables, which have been so wildly disfigured in the romances of chivalry, and so elegantly adorned by the Italian muse. A victorious line of march had been prolonged above a thousand miles, from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire; the repetition of an equal space might have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland, or the Highlands of Scotland. The Rhine is not more impassable than the Nile or Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed, without a naval combat, into

into the mouth of the Thames. Perhaps the interpretations of the Koran would now be taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate to the people of England the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Muhammed. CHAP. II.

From such calamities was Christendom delivered by the genius and fortune of one man. Charles Martel, the mayor of the palace, and consequently minister of the nation, in the time of the dynasty of Merovingian kings, collected the forces of his country, and sought and found the enemy in the centre of France, between Tours and Poitiers. The nations of Asia, Africa, and Europe, advanced with equal ardour to an encounter, which would change the history of the world. In the first six days of desultory combat, the horsemen and archers of the East maintained their advantage: but in the closer onset of the seventh day, the Orientals were oppressed by the strength and stature of the Germans, who well asserted the civil and religious freedom of their posterity. After a bloody field, in which Abderame was slain, the Saracens, in the close of the evening, retired to their camp. In the disorder and despair of the night, the various tribes of Yemen and Damascus, of Africa and Spain, were provoked to turn their arms against each other; the remains of their host were suddenly dissolved, and each Emir consulted

Charles Martel defeats the Saracens and saves the Western World.

CHAP. II.

sulted his safety by an hasty and separate retreat.* The victory of the Franks was final; and when Spain was agitated by the contests between the Abassidan and Ommiadan dynasties, the Arabs were dispossessed of Languedoc, Provence, and other parts of the south of France, by Pepin le Bref, the son of Charles Martel. A. D. 759.†

Wars between the Greeks and the Saracens, A. D. 781—805.

In the reign of Mohadi, the third prince of the Abassidan dynasty, the wars between the Saracens and the Greeks were renewed, and the loss of some of her fairest provinces induced the Empress Irene to purchase an ignominious peace from the conquering Harun, the son of Mohadi. The private history of Harun-al-Raschid, or the Just, is familiar to every reader of the Arabian Nights. The people of Constantinople murmured at the payment of the tribute, but the Saracens were always ready to march into Europe, for the purpose of plundering the miserable provincials. Nicephorus, the successor of Irene, sent his ambassador to the Caliph Harun, at his palace at Racca on the Euphrates, whither he had been driven by the vices of the people of Bagdad, and presented him with a bundle of swords, instead of the olive branch. The Emperor proudly says in his letter, "the "queen Irene considered you as a rook, and "herself

* Gibbon, ch. 52. † Koch, tom. 1, p. 52.

" herself as a pawn. That pusillanimous fe-
" male submitted to pay a tribute, the double
" of which she ought to have exacted from
" the barbarians: restore, therefore, the fruits of
" your injustice, or abide the determination of
" the sword." The epistle of Harun was forcible and laconic. " In the name of the most merci-
" ful God, Harun-al-Raschid, commander of the
" faithful, to Nicephorus, Dog of the Romans.
" I have read thy letter, thou son of an unbe-
" lieving woman; to which what thou shalt
" *behold*, and not what thou shalt *hear*, shall
" serve for answer." A war of desolation ensued, and the Emperor stipulated for the payment of an immense tribute, which the succeeding princes of the family of Abbas were unable to enforce.

Conquests of the Islands in the Mediterranean.

In an early period of the Hegira, the power of the Saracens was displayed in naval, as much as in military expeditions. The Byzantine Emperors were unequal to the maintenance both of their maritime and their continental possessions. From the conquest of Syria, the Arabs readily crossed to Cyprus; and Heraclius had the mortification of seeing this beautiful appendage to his empire added to the dominion of the Saracens. For three centuries it continued in their quiet possession; but in the general decline of the Caliphate, the officers of Nicephorus Phocas re-annexed

A. D. 647.

CHAP. II. re-annexed Cyprus to the throne of the Cæsars.* The Cyclades suffered from the Moslems attacks; and in the devastation of Rhodes, it is interesting to the classical reader to remark, that the fragments of the Colossus, which had lain on the ground for eight centuries, were sold by the plunderers to an Edessene Jew—fragments so vast, that nine hundred camels were employed in their removal.†

A band of Spanish Moors quitted the peninsula, traversed the Mediterranean, and landed in Alexandria. In hatred of the Abassidan Caliphs, the subjects of the descendants of Ommia plundered the city, sold the slaves, and pillaged the places of devotion both of Christians and of Moslems; nor was it till Almamon quitted Bagdad, and appeared in person in the field, that
A. D. 823. these pirates departed. Their return to Spain was prevented by the tempting prospect of Crete, and the city of Cyden was the only portion of the island which they were unable to subjugate. Much blood and treasure were spent by the Byzantine Emperors in endeavouring to recover Crete, or Candia, as it came to be called from the name Candy, the principal Saracenian fortress, and one hundred and twenty-seven years elapsed

* Meursius, Creta, Cyprus, et Rhodus, lib. 2, cap. 21. 4to. 1675.

† Meursius, lib. 1, cap. 15; lib. 2, cap. 17.

elapsed before the effort was proportioned to the task; and the island was reduced to its former subjection.* CHAP. II.

Corsica changed not only her master, but her religion. A powerful Saracen, called Lanza Ancisa, introduced some troops into the island, with a Muhammedan doctor, called Haly, and by the united power of arms and eloquence, the Corsicans were induced to drive away the Greeks, and to embrace the Moslem faith. For one hundred and sixty-six years Ancisa and his successors were sovereigns of Corsica. At the close of that time, the zeal of the Christians in Italy burst into a flame of war, the last King was driven away, and Corsica acknowledged the pontiff of Christianity for her supreme lord.† A.D. 810.

About the same time that the Saracens erected their trophies in Corsica, they invaded and subdued the neighbouring isle of Sardinia. The natives did not long submit to the yoke. They expelled the adventurers, and for a safeguard against future aggression, placed themselves under the protection of Louis le Débonnaire, at that period King of France and Emperor of the West. The successors of Charlemagne were as

* Meursius, cap. 7. Renaudot, Hist. Pat. Alex. p. 251, &c. Tournefort, tom. 1, Letters 2 and 3.

† Révolutions de Corse, p. 15, &c. Haie, 1737.

CHAP. II. as feeble as their imperial brethren in the East, and the Sardinians, driven to their own resources, invested their leaders, under the title of judges, with all military power, and the island was relieved for awhile from the inroads of the African and Spanish Moors. At the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century, however, it seems to have become a Moslem province, and an hundred years passed away
A. D. 1004. before its state was changed. Pope John the 18th touched with its unhappy condition, invited the catholic princes to deliver it from the cruel devastations of the Moors. The piety and cupidity of the republics of Genoa and Pisa were awakened at the call, and the Saracenian power was annihilated. Long and vehement were the contests between the *liberators* for the possession of the isle, and the skill of Italian diplomacy was exhausted in settling the rival claims. The
A. D. 1164. Emperor Frederic Barbarossa at one time favoured the Genoese, and placed the crown on the head of their vassal the judge of Arboria. In the following year, however, he bestowed the investiture of the whole island on the Pisans. These measures were ill calculated to procure repose. Yet when in 1175 an equal partition of the isle was made by the Emperor between the Genoese and Pisans, these jealous republicans

licans laid aside their animosities, and enjoyed their booty in peace.* CHAP. II.

The Moors from Africa and Spain subdued Sicily. In Syracuse their cruelties and exactions were enormous, and thousands of the timid Sicilians submitted their children to the initiatory rite of Muhammedanism. For more than two centuries the Emperors of Constantinople, the princes of Beneventum, and the Moslem lords contended in all the horrors of war for mastery over Sicily and Magna Græcia: but the brave and active Normans, who occasionally formed a part of the armies of the different contending powers, gradually swelled into a powerful state, and took advantage of the general anarchy and distress. Sicily and the lower Italy became known in history by the name of the kingdom of the two Sicilies, and the Scandinavian pirates added this splendid conquest to the list of their achievements in England, France, Ireland, and the other great states of the world.† A. D. 830—870.

In the military history of the disciples of Muhammed, Invasion of Rome, A.D. 846—850.

* Anuzi, Hist. de Sardaigne, p. 103, &c. Paris 1809. Muratori, tom. 6, p. 294, &c.

† The history of the Saracens in Sicily and Magna Græcia may be studied in Carusii, Bibl. Hist. Siciliæ, tom. 2, Panorm. 1723: and to most advantage in Gregorius, rerum Arabicarum, quæ ad historiam Siculam spectant ampla collectio, fol. Panorm. 1790.

CHAP. II. hammed, few subjects are so well calculated to excite our astonishment, as their invasion of the Roman territories. Who could have foretold that the Arabic war cry should be heard near the walls of Rome? In full possession of Sicily, these sons of Satan, as the librarian Anastasius, with classical and pious indignation, called the Saracens, sailed up the Tyber, and encamped before the sacred city. Having pillaged the church of St. Peter without the walls, they raised the siege, in order to give battle to an army of the Emperor Lothaire. On the smiling plains of Italy, or the frightful deserts of Arabia, the Saracens were alike irresistible. But the Romans within the walls recovered from their alarm, and the bad conduct of the invaders saved the city from destruction. "Ils revinrent "bientôt après avec une armée formidable, qui "semblait devoir détruire l'Italie et faire une "bourgade Mahométane de la capitale du Chris- "tianisme. Le Pape Léon IV. prenant dans ce "danger une autorité que les généraux de l'Em- "pereur Lothaire semblaient abandonner, se "montra digne, en défendant Rome, d'y com- "mander en souverain. Il avait employé les "richesses de l'église à réparer les murailles, à "élever des tours, à tendre des chaînes sur le "Tibre. Il arma les milices à ses dépens, en- "gagea les habitans de Naples et de Gayette à

"venir

" venir défendre les côtes, et le port d'Ostie,
" sans manquer à la sage précaution de prendre
" d'eux des ôtages, sachant bien que ceux qui
" sont assez puissans pour nous secourir, le sont
" assez pour nous nuire. Il visita lui-même tous
" les postes, et reçut les Sarasins à leur descente,
" non pas en équipage de Guerrier, ainsi qu'en
" avoit usé Goslin, Evêque de Paris, dans une
" occasion encore plus pressante, mais comme
" un Pontif qui exhortait un peuple Chrétien,
" et comme un Roi qui veillait à la sûreté de
" ses sujets, Il était né Romain. Le courage
" des premiers âges de la république revivait
" en lui dans un temps de lâcheté et de cor-
" ruption, tel qu'un des beaux monumens de
" l'ancienne Rome, qu'on trouve quelquefois
" dans les ruines de la nouvelle. Son courage
" et ses soins furent secondés. On reçut les
" Sarasins courageusement à leur descente ; et
" la tempête ayant dissipé la moitié de leurs
" vaisseaux, une partie de ces conquérans,
" échappés au naufrage, fut mise à la chaîne.
" Le Pape rendit sa victoire utile, en faisant
" travailler aux fortifications de Rome, et à ses
" embellissemens, les mêmes mains qui devaient
" les détruire."*

* This is Voltaire's animated picture of these interesting events. Essai sur l'Histoire Générale, tom. 1, ch. 18; edition 1756. The principal facts are recorded by the librarian Anastasius in his Lives of the Popes, p. 185, 6. Paris, 1649.

CHAP. III.

THE DIVIDED CALIPHATE; OR, THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE SARACENIAN EMPIRE.

CHAP. III. We have seen that at the close of the first century of the Hegira, and in the reign of Walid, the seventh prince of the Ommiadan dynasty, the empire of the Saracens was more than commensurate with the most potent monarchies of ancient times. The power of the Caliphs was preserved under the Ommiades without any sensible diminution. In the reign of the second prince of the family of Abbas, the division of the Caliphate commenced, and the successful revolt of Spain was the earliest appearance of insurrection. Princes of different merits and pretensions claimed the thrones of the various governments, and during the period from the 288th to the 391st year of the Hegira, the annals of the Caliphate are filled with details of the revolts of ambitious or discontented subjects. The rise of the empire of the Saracens might be viewed only from the pulpit at Damascus, but its decline and fall is a divided subject.

Adhering

Adhering to that triple division of the Caliphate which we mentioned in the last chapter, we will continue our history of the Muhammedan world, and consider the fortunes,—I. Of the Caliphs of Spain,—II. Of Egypt and Africa,—and III. Of Bagdad. CHAP. II.

CALIPHS OF SPAIN.

A royal youth, of the name of Abdalrahman or Almansor, escaped the massacre of his family, which the stern and cruel Saffah, the Abassidan prince, had commanded. The descendant of Moawiyah, with his child and his brother, concealed himself in a forest near the Euphrates. Their persecutors discovered them, the child was killed, and the two brethren plunged into the river. One of them, fainting with fatigue, accepted the proffered mercy of his foes, and returned to the shore: but with a baseness, unworthy the supporters of a royal cause, they instantly slew him. The stouter Abdalrahman effected the dangerous passage, and was hunted from the banks of the noblest river of Syria to the vallies of Mount Atlas in Africa. A. D. 755.

The Moors of Spain had always been zealously attached to the Ommiades, and on the news that a prince of that family was at Tekvaré, they immediately tendered allegiance and submission to the wandering exile. Abdalrahman, dazzled by the splendour of a crown, and

CHAP. III. dreading the probability of falling into the hands of the Abassides, received the deputies with joy. He foresaw the danger of the enterprize, the battles he should have to fight, and the horrors which are inseparable from a great political revolution. But in the possession of the throne, his ambition and his revenge would be gratified. Royalty in Spain, or obscurity in Africa! who could hesitate in the choice? And a noble mind not merely despises, but is even excited by the difficulties which lie in the road to power. He was saluted with acclamations upon landing on the coast of Andalusia, and the cities of Malaga, Sidonia, and Seville, opened their gates to the hero. In a reign of thirty years he achieved his arduous task, and founded the dynasty of

Spanish Ommiades.

the Spanish Ommiades (or Caliphs of the West, in distinction from the Caliphs of Bagdad and the East), which existed for the period of three centuries. The luxury, the tyranny, and the negligence of the last princes of this house, lost them those conquests which had been won by

A. D. 1038.

the valour of their ancestors, and were the causes of passing this fine kingdom into other hands. The governors of the provinces, the ministers of state, and the nobility, became independent sovereigns, and there arose as many principalities as there were towns. Cordova, Toledo, Seville, Jaen, Lisbon, Tortosa, Valentia, Murcia, Almeria,

Almeria, Denia, and the Balearic Islands, had each its separate monarch.* CHAP. III.

Such Gothic nobles as disdained submission to the Moorish yoke, fled for refuge to the inaccessible mountains of Asturias, and comforted themselves with the practice of the Christian religion, and with the maintenance of their ancient laws. By short excursions of plunder and revenge into the Moorish territories, they stimulated their martial prowess. Their strength gradually increased, their views enlarged, a regular government was established, and vexatious inroads were changed into formidable irruptions. In the middle of the eighth century, when the country was agitated by the change of the Saracenian dynasties, we may mark the dawnings of Spanish independence in the newly founded kingdom of Leon or Oviedo. Charlemagne was lord of all the country between the Ebro and the Pyrenees. The Christians were animated by the best principles of action, by zeal for their religion and their country; and their minds acquired the passive virtues of fortitude and resignation, in the laborious school of poverty and affliction. But the prosperity of the Moors

Rise of the Christian kingdoms.

* Cardonne, tom. 1, page 180, &c. and that splendid and useful work of the librarian Casiri, Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, tom. 2, under the proper titles.

CHAP. III. was fatal to the cause of Muhammedanism. The force of their military institutions became relaxed, and the vigour of their warlike spirit abated. They, however, continued still to be a gallant people, and possessed great resources. According to the magnificent style of the Spanish historians, eight centuries of almost uninterrupted war elapsed, and three thousand seven hundred battles were fought, before the last of the Moorish kingdoms in Spain submitted to the arms of the descendants of the country's ancient possessors. As the Christians made their conquests upon the Muhammedans at various periods, and under different leaders, each formed the territory he had gained from the common enemy into an independent state. Spain was divided into as many separate kingdoms as it contained provinces, and in every city of note a petty monarch established his throne, and assumed all the ensigns of royalty. In a series of years, however, by the usual effects of intermarriages, or legal succession, or conquest, these inferior principalities were annexed to the more powerful monarchies of Castile and of Arragon; and at length, by the fortunate marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, the former the hereditary monarch of Arragon, and the latter raised to the throne of Castile by the affection of her subjects,

subjects, the Christian states were united, and descended in the same line.*

Expulsion of the Moors from Spain.

Castile, Arragon, Navarre, and Portugal, had been wrested from the Muhammedans, and Granada and its territory were the only remnants of their once splendid settlement in Europe. In the possession of this rich and extensive country, the Moors or Moriscoes, supported by their brethren in the faith in Africa, long resisted the power of Ferdinand. But civil discord prepared the way of the conqueror, and the Christian prince received the submission of the Moors of Granada. The treaty of peace recognized the equality of the various subjects of the Spanish kingdom, and toleration of the Muhammedan religion was solemnly promised. The happiness of mankind has been wounded as deeply by bigoted Christians, as by fanatical Muselmans. The just indignation of the Moors, at the infraction of the treaty by that high priest of bigotry, Ximenes, the Archbishop of Toledo, was declared to be a rebellion; thousands of zealous and conscientious followers of the Arabian Prophet were put to the sword, and their weaker brethren were intimidated

* Robertson's Introduction, and Chenier's Recherches sur les Maures, liv. 3, ch. 2. Ferrara's Hist. d'Espagne, tom. 2, p. 507. Koch, Tabl. des Révolutions de l'Europe, tom. 1, p. 51.

CHAP. III.

dated into an acknowledgment of the truth of Christianity. Through the long period of the sixteenth century, the Catholic princes of Spain forgot the mild character of their religion in their attempts at the conversion of the Moors. Charles the Fifth, in violation of his coronation oath to protect his Muhammedan subjects, issued a proclamation, that all the Moslems should submit to the Christian rite of baptism. Thousands sacrificed their principles to this mandate of oppression. The vengeance of the inquisition was gratified. On the appearance of any signs of attachment to Islamism, this ferocious tribunal treated the Moors as apostates from the Christian faith. The animosity of the general body of the clergy was kindled against them. The Pope of Rome censured the remissness of the Missionaries; but the acquirement of the Arabic language was too difficult a task for indolent monks, and the religious spirit of the Muselmans was not readily subdued. The revenues of the Catholic hierarchy were diminished by the erection of churches for the conversion of the Moors. The Christian clergy proposed the bold, but ruinous measure, of the total expulsion of the infidels from Spain. The barons shewed with great power of argument and eloquence, that this detested people were the most valuable part of the Spanish population.

tion. Frugality, temperance, and industry, were their characteristics. The manufactures of Spain, equally necessary for internal consumption and for foreign trade, were understood by them alone. Without their skill and labour, it was an unquestionable fact, that a great part of the kingdom would lie waste, and innumerable families of the highest rank, who entirely depended on the rents of their lands, would be reduced to indigence. But a proud and avaricious priesthood were deaf to the voice of wisdom and policy. The sacred scriptures themselves were invoked to justify their cause; and it was represented to the monarch, that the extirpation of the Moslems was a duty as much incumbent on a Catholic king, as the rooting out of the heathens from the promised land had been obligatory on the kings and captains of the Jews. CHAP. III.

The cause of the clergy gained strength in the reigns of Charles the Fifth, and Philip the Second; and in the reign of the timid Philip the Third it triumphed over the opposition of the barons. A royal decree was passed, commanding the Moors of Valentia, and of every quarter of Spain, to repair to the southern coast, and depart for Africa in the king's fleet. A small portion of their property was allowed to be carried away by them, and the remainder was declared

CHAP. III. declared to be the fortune of the lords of the soil. But the generous barons refused so base an acquisition; and they mitigated, by various means, the severity of the edict. Many of them accompanied their vassals to the sea-shore, and remained at the ports during the whole time of embarkation. On the inhospitable plains of Africa the Moors were plundered by the Bedoween Arabs. Fatigue and hunger diminished the number of the wretched exiles in their march to the principal Moslem towns in Africa, and more than one hundred thousand men suffered death in its most hideous forms, within a few months after their expulsion from Valentia. The page of the Spanish history of this period is written in characters of blood. Many of the bravest of the Moors had fled to the mountains of Spain, and vainly hoped by force of arms to maintain their independence. But the power of the crown was irresistible; their property was seized by the rapacious favourites of a weak and profligate prince, and a price was set upon their heads. Some of them were taken and transported to Africa; others, without distinction of age or sex, were butchered; and those who exhausted the patience of the Spaniards were hunted like beasts of prey, and perished of cold and hunger in the rocks and woods. The Muhammedan empire in Spain was,

was, by these atrocious measures, totally annihilated. The Catholic bigots rejoiced, but the loss of a numerous, industrious, and skilful people, was a blow to the greatness of the nation from which the Spanish monarchy has never recovered.* CHAP. III. A. D. 1609.

State of Spain under the Moors.

From a view of fields of blood, and of such is the history of nations, the political and speculative inquirer gladly turns his eyes to behold the wealthy and prosperous state of Spain under the Ommiadan dynasty. While the greatest portion of the western world was buried in darkest ignorance, the Moors of Spain lived in the enjoyment of all those arts which beautify and polish society. Amidst a constant succession of wars, they cast a lustre upon Spanish history, which the nerveless natives of these days may look back upon with shame and envy. In Cordova, and in every other city, schools were founded, and the numerous public libraries invited the curiosity of the studious. Letters were patronized by the Caliphs of the west, with the same liberality which distinguished and ennobled

* Watson's Philip the Second, book 9th, and Watson's Philip the Third, book 4th. I observe that Dr. Watson's account of the expulsion of the Moors from Spain is principally taken from an excellent essay upon the subject, in the first volume of Geddes' Miscellaneous Tracts. My usual Moorish guide, Chenier, is, on this interesting point of history, superficial and unsatisfactory.

CHAP. III.

ennobled the characters of the Caliphs of the east. Cordova became the centre of politeness, taste, and genius; and tilts and tournaments, with other costly shews, were long the darling pastimes of a wealthy, happy, people.* During the course of two centuries, this court continued to be the resort of the professors of all polite arts, and such as valued themselves upon their military and knightly accomplishments. The early princes of the Ommiadan dynasty erected a mosque in Cordova, their capital, which vied with those at Damascus and Jerusalem, in size, beauty, and grandeur. Six hundred feet measured its length, and fifty its breadth. Its roofs were sustained by more than a thousand columns of marble, and eighty doors of bronze received, and poured forth, the votaries of the false religion. The riches of the state were applied to the purchase of oriental perfumes; and four thousand seven hundred lamps were burning every night. Cordova contained two hundred thousand houses, six hundred mosques, and nine hundred public baths. Eighty great cities, and three hundred towns of the second and third order, were distinguished in Spain; and twelve thousand villages and hamlets were seated on the banks of the Guadalquivir. In the decline of the Moorish power, when the capital

* Swinburn's Travels through Spain, p. 280.

capital of the Ommiadan dynasty had been taken by the Christians, Granada became a splendid city. For population, and wealth, and agriculture, Granada and its territory were eminent. Geometry, astronomy, and physic, were as regularly studied and practised, as they had been at the former seat of Moorish grandeur; and of the public taste and magnificence, the ruins of the palace of Alhambra, built in the midst of aromatic trees, with noble views over beautiful hills and fertile plains, are a splendid monument.* Independently of the taxes which were paid in kind, the revenues of the successors of Abdalrahman amounted to the astonishing, and almost incredible, sum of twelve millions and forty-five thousand dinars, or pieces of gold, about six millions of sterling money. The commerce of the country was great. Raw silks, oils, sugar, iron, and the manufactures of silk and lace, were the chief articles. Spain was the arsenal of the Muhammedans of Africa. Thence they drew their lances, their bucklers, their coats of mail, and sabres. The richest commercial

* Swinburn's Travels through Spain. See, also, Cardonne's Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. 1, p 330, 335, for a description of the city and palace of the Zehra, three miles from Cordova. It was built by the favourite Sultana of a Moorish prince. Spain, as well as France, is indebted for many of its most splendid edifices to the taste and prodigality of royal mistresses.

CHAP. III.

commercial speculations of the Moors of Spain were made with the people of Constantinople. The Emperors of the east, and the Caliphs of the west, were united in hatred against the Caliphs of Bagdad. The Levant was open to the Spanish merchants, and the luxurious inhabitants of Constantinople consumed the produce of their manufactories.*

II. AFRICA AND EGYPT.

Muhammedan Dynasties of Africa. A. D. 812.

Half a century after the bond of unity of the Saracenian empire had been broken by the successful revolt of Spain, Ali Ildrahim, who, in the name of the Bagdad Caliph, governed the northern states of Africa, including the ancient kingdoms of Mauritania and Massylia, and the republic of Carthage, changed his government into an independent kingdom. The princes of this family reigned with undiminished power for more than ninety years; and Aglabite, the father of Ildrahim, gave his name to the dynasty. Muhammed Obeidollah then seized the throne. He was the founder of the Fatimite dynasty in Africa, who assumed the title of Mihidi, or directors of the faithful. The countries of Fez and Tangiers had been already wrested from the

* Cardonne, tom. 1, p. 337 et seq. Agriculture was better understood by the Arabs of Spain, than by any other people. Andres, Hist. Gén. des Sciences, tom. 1, p. 73. Paris 1805.

the Caliphs of Bagdad, by some of the real or pretended posterity of Ali; but Muhammed Obeidollah terminated this dynasty, and became the sovereign of the northern territories of Africa from the Straits of Gibraltar to Egypt. The capitals of himself and his descendants were, successively, Cairon and Mohadia. Moez, the last of this race of princes, subjugated Egypt, and became the first Caliph, in that country, of the descendants of Ali and Fatima.* The public prayers for the Abassidan family were suppressed; and when all opposition to his throne had been quelled, he founded the modern city of Grand Cairo.† He bestowed his kingdom of Africa upon one of his generals, to be holden as a fief of the Caliph of Egypt. For five centuries, a succession of fleeting dynasties ravaged and distracted Africa. Various kingdoms were formed; and those of Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis, were the most considerable.‡ The kingdom of Morocco, including Fez, was possessed by

CHAP. III.

A. D. 972.

Morocco.

L

* This descent from Muhammed is doubtful. One of the Thabatheban princes of Arabia, unquestionably sprung from Ali and Fatima, demanded of Moez, from what branch of the family he drew his title. "This," exclaimed Moez, shewing his scimitar, "is my pedigree; and these," throwing some gold among his soldiers, "and these are my children."

† D'Anville's Mémoire sur l'Egypte, p. 132.

‡ D'Herbelot, Bib. Orient. Articles Moez, Obeidolla, and Fatimiah.

CHAP. III. by the Merinian dynasty; but in the fifteenth century the Scheriffs or descendants of Muham-
A.D. 1516. med ascended the throne, and it was transmitted, without interruption, to the present possessors.*

Tunis and Algiers.

In an age fertile both in great and singular characters, the two sons of a potter in the isle of Lesbos became formidable as pirates from the Dardanelles to Gibralter. Barbarossa and Hayradin carried their prizes from the coasts of Spain and Italy into the ports of Barbary, and enriching the inhabitants by the sale of their booty, and the thoughtless prodigality of their crews, were welcome guests at every place they touched. A permanent establishment in a country opposite to the shores of the greatest commercial states was the natural object of their ambition. In a desultory war between the Spanish and Algerine monarchs, Barbarossa appeared as the ally of the African king, but he murdered the monarch whom he came to protect, and seated himself on the thrones of Algiers and Tremesan. The victorious arms of the generals of the Emperor Charles the Vth were directed against the usurper, who infested the coasts of Spain and Italy with fleets, which resembled the armaments of a great potentate, rather than the light squadron of a corsair, and after a brave resistance Barbarossa was slain. The

* Cardonne, tom. 2, p. 346.

The wars with the Christian princes of Europe diverted the military operations of Charles from Africa, and profiting by the absence of the Imperial forces, Hayradin assumed the sceptre of Algiers, regulated with admirable prudence the interior police of his kingdom, carried on his naval operations with great vigour, and from apprehension that his continual depredations would, one day, draw upon him the arms of the Christians, he put himself under the protection of the Grand Seignior, and received from him a body of Turkish soldiers sufficient for his security against his foreign, as well as his domestic enemies. At last, the fame of his exploits having considerably increased, Solyman offered him the command of the Turkish navy, as the only admiral qualified, by his personal valour, and skill in maritime affairs, to be opposed to the Genoese patriot Andrew Doria. Proud of this distinction, Hayradin (Barbarossa was also his name) repaired to Constantinople, and with a wonderful versatility of mind, mingling the arts of a courtier with the boldness of a corsair, gained the entire confidence both of the Sultan and his Vizier. Assisted by Solyman, he formed and executed a plan for the subjugation of Tunis, a kingdom which already tottered from intestine divisions. But the indignation of Europe was roused at the Musel-

CHAP. III.

CHAP. III.

man and robber. Against him were united the King of Tunis, whom Barbarossa had exiled, the knights of Malta, and the great European states of Germany, Italy, and Spain. Francis the first was the only continental prince, who assisted not the common cause of Christendom. The Emperor Charles the Vth commanded in person, the Goletta was taken by storm, and in the deserts of Africa the Christian army conquered the Moorish troops. The injured and insulted African monarch was restored to his throne, Tunis was declared to be a fief of Spain, and many wise regulations were made by the Emperor, for curbing the power of the African corsairs. Barbarossa eluded the vigilance of his enemy, and frequently re-appeared in his piratical enterprises, or as the ally of Francis the first; and the Italian coast was spoliated from Nice to Naples.*

A. D. 1535. Successful expedition of Charles 5th to Tunis.

Algiers, the third of the great states of northern Africa, was saved from the power of the Christians. Haschem Aga, a renegado eunuch, had been appointed by Barbarossa to be the director of the predatory wars of the Algerines. These barbarians rivalled in boldness and cruelty the freebooters of Tunis. Moved by the intreaties of his subjects on the coasts of Spain and Italy, and inflamed by the desire of military

A. D. 1541. Unfortunate attempt of Charles on Algiers.

* Robertson's Hist. of Charles the Vth, books 5 and 6.

military renown, the Emperor Charles summoned to his standard all the champions of Christianity. The ardour of enterprize was not checked by the mild remonstrances of the Pope, or the energetic counsel of Andrew Doria, not to expose his whole armament to almost inevitable destruction, by venturing to approach, during the prevalence of the autumnal winds, the dangerous coast of Africa. Though the advice of the experienced and cautious Genoese was rejected, yet to his skill the guidance of the fleet was committed. Part of the Imperial navy sailed from the Gulf of Genoa, and joined the squadrons of the various other powers at Sardinia, the general rendezvous. Twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, headed by the flower of the Spanish and Italian nobility, and a numerous band of Maltese knights, breathed vengeance against the implacable enemies of the Christian name. The event justified the prediction of Doria. Storms of no common violence scattered and weakened the fleet, but the resolution of the Emperor was unconquerable by fortune. He pursued his way to the African coast, and landed near Algiers. Numerical forces, and military skill, do not always determine the fate of war. The army of the Governor of Algiers would soon have been swept from the face of the earth, had not the elements CHAP. III.

CHAP. III. themselves destroyed the hopes of the Christian world. On the second day after the landing of the Imperial forces, the clouds began to gather, and the heavens to appear with a fierce and threatening aspect. Towards evening the rain descended in torrents, accompanied with violent wind, and the tempest increasing during the night, the soldiers, who had brought nothing on shore but their arms, remained exposed to all its fury. On the dawn of the morning, the enemy sallied from the shelter of Algiers, and made dreadful havoc among the exhausted Christians. The sea presented a more awful, as well as a more affecting spectacle. The ships, on which the army knew that their safety and subsistence depended, were seen driven from their anchors, some dashing against each other, some beat to pieces on the rocks, many forced ashore, and not a few sinking in the waves. The shipwrecked mariners and soldiers were murdered or plundered by the Arabs. All was desolation. The defeated and baffled Emperor embarked the wretched remains of his once splendid and formidable equipment on board the remnants of his fleet, and after passing through various difficulties and dangers, they landed on different parts of Italy and Spain.*

It would be an unprofitable employment to pursue

* Robertson's Charles the Vth, book 6th.

pursue further the history of the north of Africa. Scenes of horror and bloodshed fill its pages. The Barbary states of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, have been always claimed by the Grand Seignior as fiefs of Constantinople, and the proud list of his titles is swelled by their names. But the thrones of these piratical states have been occupied by Turks, Africans, and Moors, by whoever could ascend them through seas of blood, without regard to justice, hereditary right, or the nomination of the Othman Porte. CHAP. III.

In the regular course of Saracenian history, Egypt next claims our notice. To that country the African Caliphate passed, when Moez established in Grand Cairo the dynasty of the Fatimite princes. Large tracts of Syria, and the whole of Palestine, owned their authority. But the sovereignty over these territories was occasionally lost and won, by these, their legitimate masters, by the Crusaders from Europe, and the Seljuk Turks. Already potent in Syria, the Crusaders penetrated into Egypt, in the reign of Adhed, the last descendant of Moez. Pressed on every side by his enemies, the Caliph and his ministers purchased peace by a tribute of a million of dinars, about five hundred thousand pounds sterling money. When the Franks entered Cairo for the exaction of A. D. 972. Fatimites of Egypt. A. D. 1160

CHAP. III.

this sum, the inhabitants cast their eyes upon Prince Noureddin, the general and minister of the Caliphs of Bagdad, for protection from their Christian spoliators.* The prince sent his armies to the defence of his Moslem brethren, and the danger was averted. The people of Egypt were nerveless and effeminate, the Caliph was sunk in idleness and luxury, and the domestic officers exercised all the functions of royalty.

In the civil factions which consumed the strength of the Egyptian lords, the Caliph of Bagdad was often called upon by the weaker party, and the instability of the government became known. The active Turks round the throne of Bagdad proposed the re-annexation of Egypt to its parent stock. Among the generals of Noureddin were Shiracouch and his nephew

* Noradinus was a prince of such exemplary virtue, that even his enemies praise him. "Noradinus maximus "nominis et fidei Christianæ persecutor; princeps tamen "justus, vafer, providus, et secundum gentis suæ tradi-"tiones religiosus." William of Tyre, lib. 20. 33 in Gestis Dei per Francos. I cannot refrain from subjoining an anecdote, illustrative of his virtue and simplicity. His favourite Sultana thought that the royal treasures were at his command, and requested some object of magnificent expense. "Alas," replied the lord of Syria, "I fear God, "and am no more than the treasurer of the Moslems. "Their property I cannot alienate; but I still possess three "shops in the city of Hems; these you may take, and "these alone can I bestow."

phew Saladin, men of the pastoral tribes of the Curds, a ferocious and hardy race of people who dwelt in the hilly regions behind the Tigris. These valiant leaders of the Syrian force appeared in arms in Egypt. After many a well contested field, the Fatimites of Egypt, and the Franks, enemies to both sects of Muselmans, were conquered by the professors of the orthodox Moslem faith. The Caliph Adhed, a venerable phantom of power, died in ignorance of the fate of his country, and Noureddin and Saladin proclaimed in the mosque of Cairo, the civil and ecclesiastical supremacy of Mosthadi, the thirty-third Caliph of Bagdad. CHAP. III.

In the lifetime of Noureddin, the Curds were exemplary in their obedience to the throne. But on the death of this minister, Saladin was relieved from submission to an ascendant genius. By a series of wise measures, he became absolute master of Egypt. From the Atabeks of Syria he wrested Damascus and Aleppo, and even in Arabia his name was inserted in the public prayers. From the Indian Ocean to the mountains of Armenia, from Tripoli to the Tigris, his power was felt and acknowledged. The battle of Hittin, near Tiberias, and the siege of Jerusalem, made him dreaded by the Christian princes. Richard Plantagenet recovered, however, Acre and the sea coast. But Saladin.

the

CHAP. III. the enthusiastic spirit of the Crusaders had been calmed by time, the power of Saladin was shaken
A. D. 1192. yet not overcome, and at his death he left a fair and ample inheritance to his children.* While subjugated armies were melancholy proofs of his superior military talents, a confession of his virtues is freely made by his enemies, by the Christian historians of the Crusades.† When Jerusalem yielded to his troops, he allowed the Knights of that city to attend the sick in the public hospitals, though some of their brethren were fighting against him. A liberal distribution of alms mitigated private misfortune amidst public calamity, and he remitted a considerable portion of the stipulated ransom for the safety of the city. More than fourscore years before Saladin's time, the Crusaders, when they took Jerusalem, had murdered every Muhammedan whom they found in the place. But Saladin generously refrained from retaliation, and left them a temple for the performance of their worship.‡ His ear was accessible to the complaints of his meanest subjects, and the various duties of his religion were performed by him, with a scrupulosity worthy of a companion of Muhammed.

* See D'Herbelot's Bib. Orient. articles Nouhredden and Saluhedden, and De Guignes' Hist. Gén. des Huns, liv. 13.

† See particularly the History of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, by Renaudot.

‡ Harris's Phil. Inquiries, p. 339—340.

Muhammed. A determined Sonnite himself, yet too good a politician to attempt a change of opinions by persecution, he founded colleges and schools for the teaching of the orthodox Muselman faith, and wisely endeavoured, by reason and conciliatory measures, to change the religious sentiments of the Fatimites of Egypt. His revenues were spent in charity or in public works, and at his death, his treasury, exhausted by his liberality, could not furnish the small sum of money that was wanted for his unostentatious funeral. Though the lustre of his youth had been tarnished by some amatory follies, yet in his mature age, his temperance and charity were admired even by Christian monks. While the Emperor of Germany was proud of his friendship, and the descendants of the great Seljuk conducted his horse, he was simple in his deportment, and gentle in manners. His robe was of the coarsest cloth, his drink was water, and the power of his name was so transcendent, that he needed not those trappings of royalty, which are used for the concealment of the vices and the weaknesses of effeminate and luxurious princes. CHAP. III.

From the word Aioub, the surname of Saladin, the princes of Egypt, his successors, have received the title of the Aioubite dynasty. But the children and brothers of Saladin disputed the

CHAP. III. the inheritance, and all the territories, except Egypt, were torn for ever from the Fatimite Caliphs. Syria had scarcely revived from the desolation which the Crusaders had made, when these fair countries became the theatre of the most sanguinary calamities which the history of conquerors has recorded. From the Jihon to the Tigris the land was filled with blood. The Mogul Tartars, under Zingis and his successors, weary with slaughter, had crowded their camp with thousands of Tartarian slaves of both sexes, whom they sold to the merchants of Asia. The feeble Egyptians could afford no defence to the throne, and the successors of Saladin, for protection from foreign and domestic foes, pur-
A. D. 1230. chased twelve thousand Turks, and educated them for military service. Like the prætorian guards at Rome, these Mamlouks,* or military
Mamlouk kingdom of Egypt. slaves, soon became masters. At the end of twenty years from their first introduction into Egypt, they murdered the last successor of Saladin, and placed one of their own chiefs, with the title of Sultan, on the throne. For more than two centuries and a half the Mamlouks reigned in Egypt. There were two races of them; the Baharites, who enjoyed supremacy till

* The word Mamlouk is the particle passive of the word malac, to possess, and means a slave. The word Abd distinguishes the black or domestic slaves.

till the middle of the fourteenth century, and the Circassians, who flourished till their dethronement by Selim. These two dynasties furnished forty-seven Sultans, and the average period of each reign being only five years, and hereditary succession being disregarded, it is not difficult to conceive how sanguinary must have been the annals of Egypt during this period. The government was aristocratic, and the turbulent nobility elected a Sultan, who enjoyed the civil and military authority of the state, or was deposed and murdered, according to the preponderance of the different factions. Happily for Egypt, a change of masters terminated this scene of anarchy and bloodshed. Among the conquests which illustrated the reign of Selim the Second, Emperor of Constantinople, the subjugation of the Mamlouk kingdom was not the least memorable. Egypt then became a province of the Othman empire. Agreeably to the principles of Turkish policy, the conqueror should have exterminated the whole body of Mamlouks; but more refined views induced him, in this instance, to depart from that sanguinary custom. He was sensible that if he established a Pacha, or Viceroy, in Egypt, with the same authority as the Pachas in other Turkish provinces, the distance from the capital would be a strong temptation to revolt. For the

Subjugation by the Turks, A.D. 1517.

CHAP. III. the prevention of this inconvenience, he projected a form of government, which distributed the power among the different members of the state, and kept them all dependent on himself. Selim, therefore, preserved the Mamlouks, and divided them into seven military corps. For the government of the kingdom, he appointed a Pacha and a divan, or military council, composed of the Pacha and the chiefs of the military corps; and the kingdom was partitioned into twenty-four provinces, under the direction of as many Beys, who were always to be chosen from, and by the Mamlouks. The office of the Pacha was to notify to the council the orders of the Porte, to expedite the tribute to Constantinople, to watch over the safety of the country against foreign enemies, and counteract the ambitious views of the different parties in the country. On the other hand, the members of the council possessed a right of ratifying all civil aud political ordinances, of rejecting the orders of the Pacha, and even of deposing him, when they were all agreed that a measure of that violent nature would be beneficial to the state.

Peculiarities of the Mamlouks.

As there have been Mamlouks in Egypt for six centuries, we should be led to imagine that their race was preserved by the ordinary means; but if their first establishment was a singular event,

event, their continuance is not less extraordinary. During this long period, no Mamlouk has left subsisting issue. There does not exist a single family of them in the second generation. All the children die in their infancy. Nearly the same thing happens to the Othman Turks; and it is observed, that they can secure the continuance of their families by no other means than marriages with native women; a practice which the Mamlouks have always despised. Let the philosopher explain the reasons why men and women are unable to naturalize on the banks of the Nile, a race born at the foot of Mount Caucasus; and let it be remembered, that the plants of Egypt are in Tartary equally unable to continue their species. It seems that the only means of naturalizing animals and plants, would be to contract an affinity with the climate by alliance with the native species. As the Mamlouks have always refused this alliance, they are perpetuated and multiplied by the same means by which they were first established; that is to say, when they die, they are replaced by slaves brought from the original country, from Georgia, Mingrelia, and other parts of Tartary. At Constantinople there is a regular slave market, and the agents of the Beys of Egypt purchase the requisite number of male and female slaves. Let their

religion

CHAP. III. religion be what it will, they are immediately educated in Muhammedanism. They are trained to the art of war, and taught the Arabic and Turkish languages.*

III.—BAGDAD.

Fall of the Abassidan Caliphs of Bagdad.

The words of Montesquieu, when he arrived at the history of the last years of the Eastern Roman Empire, "Je n'ai pas le courage de parler "des misères qui suivèrent," will be adopted by every writer whose office it is to treat of the history of the Abassides, after the great triple division of the Caliphate. For five centuries the family of Abbas reigned with various degrees of authority over the Moslem world. Foreign wars and domestic revolts gradually dissolved
A.D. 940. the empire, and Radhi, the twentieth Caliph of the Abassides, was the last who was invested with any considerable spiritual or temporal power; "the last," says Abulfeda, "who ha- "rangued the people from the pulpit, who "passed the cheerful hours of leisure with "men of learning and taste; whose expenses, "resources, and treasures, whose table or mag- "nificence, had any resemblance to those of "the ancient Caliphs." During the next three centuries, the successors of Muhammed swayed a feeble sceptre. Sometimes their state was so degraded,

* See Volney's Voyage en Syrie, en Egypte, tom. 1, c. 7, and Savary's Letters sur l'Egypte, tom. 2, lett. 15.

degraded, that they were confined in their palaces like prisoners, and occasionally were almost reduced to the want of corporeal subsistence. The tragic scenes of fallen royalty at length were closed, for towards the middle of the seventh century of the Hegira, the metropolis of Islamism fell into the hands of Houlagou Khan, the grandson of Zingis Khan, and Emperor of the Moguls and Tartars, who, as we shall have occasion to shew in the next chapter, reigned at that period with absolute and unmixed despotism over every nation of the east. The Caliph Mostasem, the thirty-seventh of his house, was murdered under circumstances of peculiar barbarity, and the Caliphate of Bagdad expired.* CHAP. III. Termination of the Caliphate, A. D. 1258.

Though the dignity and sovereignty of the Caliphs were lost by this fatal event, and the soul which animated the form had fled, yet the name existed for three centuries longer in the eighteen descendants of Mostanser Billah, a son, or pretended son, of Daher, the last but one of this race of princes. Mostanser Billah, and his successors, to the number of eighteen, were called the second dynasty of the Abassides, and were spiritual chiefs of the Muhammedan religion, but without the slightest vestige of temporal authority. When Selim, Emperor of the A. D. 1517

* Marigny, Histoire des Arabes, tom. 4, p. 391—440.

CHAP. III.

Turks, conquered Egypt, and destroyed the power of the Mamlouks, he carried the Caliph whom he found there a prisoner to Constantinople, and accepted from him a renunciation of his ecclesiastical supremacy. On the death of the Caliph, the family of the Abassides, once so illustrious, and which had borne the title of Caliph for almost eight hundred years, sunk with him from obscurity into oblivion.*

Causes of the fall of the Caliphate.

At the close of the first century of the Hegira, the Saracenian empire embraced the fairest and largest portion of the civilized globe, and for the next hundred years the power and influence of the Caliphs appeared to be undiminished. When the successors of the Prophet had been despoiled of Africa, of Egypt, and of Spain, their inheritance increased not in concentration of strength by the loss of these distant provinces. In Arabia, the Caliphs had but little weight in temporal affairs. Perhaps in the very early days of the Caliphate, and certainly when the seat of government was removed from Medina to Damascus, the various princes of Arabia gradually procured their independence, and regarded the Caliphs merely as the chiefs of the Moslem religion.† These dismem-

Dismemberment of the Empire.

* Marigny, tom. 4, p. 440. Harris's Philol. Inquiries, p. 387-8, and Abul-Pharajius Hist. Compen. Dynast. Prolegom. p. 32.

† Niebuhr.

dismemberments shewed the weakness of the centre of the government, and the unwieldly fabric was soon dissolved. For the preservation of the empire, the lieutenants of the provinces were invested with imperial command; but the degenerated state and remote situation of the royal family enabled them to make their governments hereditary, and to assume every thing except the name of kings. The revenues were detained under the pretence of keeping a force to defend the provinces against foreign enemies, when they were actually designed to strengthen the rebellious viceroys against their lawful sovereigns. The Taherites, Saffarides, and the Samanides,* successfully overthrew the power of each other, and of the Caliphs in Transoxiana and Korasan. The politician may censure Muhammed for not having formed a system of government as well as of conquest; but the reproach may be extended to the Macedonian hero and the Roman conquerors. The rise of the empire of the Romans was far less strikingly grand than the rise of the power of the Saracens. Fraud, and every species of treachery, co-operated with the sword of the republicans; but by one great effort

Rebellion of the Governors.

* For the particular histories of these three dynasties, the curious reader will be satisfied with the articles in D'Herbelot.

CHAP. III. of arms, the world was compelled to acknowledge the might of the Commanders of the Faithful. When the Roman power reached its meridian, how few moments did it endure! Its fine machine of state was admirably adapted for the acquisition of empire, but not for its preservation. The philosopher smiles, however, at the folly of ambition; and points at the short duration of its splendid acquisitions as a mockery of its value.

Luxury of the Caliphs.

In the primitive days of the Caliphate, the tribute which the Christians paid for the free profession of their religion, the spoils of war and other sources of revenue, were appropriated by the Commanders of the Faithful to the erection of mosques, to the support of the aged or wounded warrior, and to purposes of charity. Ignorant of the arts of luxury and refinement, the desires of the Caliphs were few and confined; and like the early successors of Saint Peter in the West, their piety and benevolence obtained the admiration and reverence of the world. Water was their only drink, and barley-bread, or dates, their food. The moderate Abu-Beker received a stipend of only three drachmas of gold from the treasury at Medina, and on the weekly return of the sabbath, he distributed the residue of his own, and of the people's money, among the most deserving Moslems;

lem s; first to the soldiers, and then to the peo- CHAP. III.
ple. His coarse woollen garment (the Asiatic symbol of spiritual power) descended to Omar; and a courtier, seeing its tattered condition, observed to the new Commander of the Faithful, that the plainness of his exterior did not correspond with the dignity of his character. "Nay my friend," replied the lord of the east, with unaffected simplicity, or with a generous contempt of the pride of kings, "the religion "with which God has honoured me is the finest "garb, the most magnificent ornament, and "the most brilliant decoration."* This virtue soon was lost; and in proportion to the increase of the wealth and power of the Saracens, the splendour and magnificence of the courts of Persia and Greece, while they adorned, corrupted the cities of Damascus and Bagdad. The arts of peace slackened and enervated the

* Ockley's History of the Saracens, at the end of the lives of Abu-Beker and Omar; and D'Ohsson, Tableau Général, tom. 4, p. 109, 8vo. edition. These tattered garments had as much virtue in them as the coat of a certain good bishop in the time of Theodosius the Second. "The Emperor used to wrap himself in it," says Jortin, "in hopes of getting some virtue out of it; as if piety, "like the itch, could be caught by wearing another man's "clothes."

CHAP. III. hands of the government; and the luxurious Caliphs were ill capable of maintaining the submission of an extensive empire. "The Caliph "Moctadi's whole army, both horse and foot," says Abulfeda, "were under arms, which toge-
A. D. 917. "ther made a body of one hundred and sixty "thousand men. His state officers stood near "him in the most splendid apparel, their belts "shining with gold and gems. Near them "were seven thousand black and white eunuchs. "The porters, or door keepers, were in number "seven hundred. Barges and boats, with the "most superb decorations, were swimming on "the Tigris. Nor was the palace itself less "splendid, in which were hung thirty-eight "thousand pieces of tapestry, twelve thousand "five hundred of which were of silk, embroi-"dered with gold. The carpets on the floor "were twenty-two thousand. An hundred "lions were brought out, with a keeper to each "lion. Among the other spectacles of rare and "stupendous luxury was a tree of gold and "silver, which opened itself into eighteen "larger branches, upon which, and the other "less branches, sate birds of every sort, made "also of gold and silver. The tree glittered "with leaves of the same metals, and while "its branches, through machinery, appeared to "move

"move of themselves, the several birds upon "them warbled their natural notes."* CHAP. III.

Turkish Guards.

In considering the dissolution of the fabric of Saracenian greatness, the mind dwells upon the circumstance of the introduction of the Turkish guards as a strong and active cause. The city of Bagdad was distracted by revolts; all ties between sovereign and subject were dissolved; and the native troops were more frequently partisans of a faction than soldiers of the state. For the defence, therefore, of his person and government, the Caliph Motassem, the eighteenth of the Abassides, formed a militia from the Turkish and Tartarian youths, that he purchased in the various slave-marts of the east. But from protectors, they soon became lords of the Commanders of the Faithful. Bagdad was the melancholy arena of their violence, their massacres, and their rapine; and like the Janizaries of Constantinople, the Mamlouks of Egypt, and the prætorian guards of Rome, they governed with military despotism. Two races of these Turks, the Toulonides and the Ikshidites,† devastated Egypt and Syria; and the power of the Caliphs was almost annihilated. The Hamadanites, an Arabian tribe, raised a transient

A.D. 840—870.

A.D. 860—970.

* I have adopted Mr. Harris's translation of this remarkable passage. See his Philological Inquiries, p. 363, 364.

† De Guignes, Hist. Gén. des Huns, liv. 9.

CHAP. III. A. D. 890—1000.

empire in Mesopotamia; but the Bowides separated Persia for ever from the Caliphate.

Religious Discord.

Religous controversies and wars precipitated the ruin of the empire. The Fatimites of Egypt revived the disputes which agitated the faithful on the foundation of the Ommiadan and Abassidan dynasties; and the blood of many a Moslem was shed, in settling the portion of merit which was due to the four companions of Muhammed.

The Carmathians, A. D. 900, &c.

The Carmathians, a sect of fanatics, declared eternal enmity to the pomp of the court of Bagdad. They altered all the forms of worship, permitted the use of wine and pork, and preached against the utility of the pilgrimage to Mecca. Into every quarter of Syria and Arabia, these daring enthusiasts carried their ravages; and at the head of only five hundred horsemen, Abu-Taher, the successor of Carmath, appeared before the gates of Bagdad. "Your master," he exclaimed to the general of the Moslems, "may "have thirty thousand *soldiers*; but three such "*men* as these are still wanting in his host." On receiving the signal, one man plunged a sword into his own breast, another leapt into the Tigris, and the third threw himself down a precipice.* From the walls of Bagdad, the Carmarthians crossed the deserts to Mecca. The holy city was plundered by them, the temple was mutilated, and

* De Guignes, Hist. Gén. des Huns, tom. 3, p. 222.

and thousands of pilgrims and citizens were murdered. For two centuries the Carmathians were the scourge of the Caliphate; the state was convulsed to its centre, and never again became perfectly settled in peace.* CHAP. III.

* D'Herbelot, Art. Carmath; D'Ohsson, Tableau Gén. de l'Empire Ottoman, tom. 1, p. 104, 8vo.; and Davy's Institutes of Timur, p. 185, 4to. 1783.

These Carmarthians, after an obscurity of a few years, appeared in the north of Persia, under the title of Hussunees (from Hussan Subah, their founder), and have obtained eternal infamy, by the introduction of a corruption of their name (Assassins) into most of the modern European languages.—Menage, Dictionnaire, fol. Paris, 1694, article Assassins. The leader of them was, from his residence, correctly called the *Chief of the Mountain*; and vulgarly, *the Old Man of the Mountain*. The foundation of their religion was Muhammedanism, and the visionary doctrines of the Sooffees of Persia were maintained. But the principal dogmas of the Assassins were the metempsichosis, and the descent into the persons of their Imams of the Holy Spirit. A blind obedience to the will of their leader was therefore naturally their first principle of action, and the passport to future happiness. He sent them into foreign courts, in order to kill the objects of his hate. Other princes hired them for the same purposes. Their murders and pillages have filled many a dismal page of Oriental history. The historians of the Crusaders, in the "Gesta dei per Francos," make frequent mention of them. The sect existed for more than two centuries, but Houlagou Khan commenced, and Tamerlane completed their destruction. De Guignes, Hist. Gén. tom. 3, p. 221—247; tom. 4, p. 128; tom. 5, p. 32. The history of the Assassins has been The Assassins.

A DISSERTATION

ON THE

CAUSES OF THE SUCCESS

OF THE

MUHAMMEDAN ARMS AND RELIGION.

CHAP. III. So great was the religious and political revolution which Muhammed and the Saracens effected, and so strong and permanent have been its effects, that, on viewing the spectacle, the mind is for a moment overawed at its magnificence, and fancies that the causes of such awful consequences were more wonderful than those which have ordinarily produced the shocks of empires and religions. But for what reason should we marvel at the successful efforts of fanatics? "I will rouse," exclaimed Peter the Hermit, "the martial nations of Europe in the "cause of Christ," and Europe was obedient to his call. Mankind, and particularly the Asiatics, have ever been credulous to narratives of those

been completely exhaused by the learned Mons. Falconet, in two dissertations in the 17th vol. of the Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions.

those communications from Heaven, which enthusiasm or fraud have imagined or invented. A bold and eloquent reformer, whether of politics or of religion, will never be without disciples; and as an able Orientalist has observed, "the example of Moseilama, the rival of Muhammed, proves how easily the Arabians admitted, and how zealously they defended, the groundless claims of every daring impostor."* The care of religion had for years been the duty of the ancestors of Muhammed, and no wonder, therefore, that attention should be given to any member of the family, who assumed the charge of correcting the abuses which disfigured the established faith of his country.† The Arabian prophet sincerely, or artfully acknowledged the divinity of the Jewish and Christian dispensations, and praising the general intention and devotional spirit of his auditors, he only offered to correct the errors of their judgment, and to dispel the cloud of superstition which their forefathers had formed. His system is a mixture of truth and error; but that circumstance had no tendency to diminish

* White's Sermons at the Bampton Lecture, note to page 87, edition 1784. The more modern case of the Wahabees is equally in point.

† Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. 22, p. 414.

CHAP. III.

nish its credit with mankind. If pure, simple, abstract truth, suited the grossness of men's understandings, genuine Christianity would be the religion of the world. If success be a criterion of merit, we must acknowledge that the systems of heathen superstition were more consonant with sound theology, than were the systems of heathen philosophy. In every religious code, some resemblance may be traced between its doctrines and the character of those who formed them, or for whom they were formed. The intercourse of conversation and friendship, and the contemplation of truth, constituted some of the chief pleasures in the elysium of the ancients. The religious, moral, and juridical system of Muhammed, was in general accordance with Asiatic opinions. His sensual paradise was well adapted to the character of Orientalists; but the offer of a sensual paradise would not alone have formed a band of fanatical proselytes. The moral constitution of our nature requires, that religion should be addressed to our fears, as well as to our hopes; and if we look at the various systems of superstition, both in the old and in the new world, we shall find, that although there is every thing in them that can shock and disgust human nature, yet their votaries have been more numerous than the worshippers of truth. In fact, the prosperity

rity of Muhammedanism in the life time of its founder, is no more wonderful than the temporary existence of various heresies in the church: and the continuance of the delusion after Muhammed's death is as little strange as that of innumerable deviations from Christianity, which the civil magistrate has supported, and which millions in every age have received as heavenly truths. If, however, Muhammed had not appealed to arms, and if the Asiatic world had not been in a state of unprecedented military inactivity, the religion of the Koran would have been confined to the deserts of Arabia. But the arms of the Commanders of the Faithful established the doctrines of the Prophet, and changed the face of the globe. The remark of Machiavel, that "no man can make himself a "prince, and found a state without opportuni-"ties," was never more fully realized, than in the instance of Muhammed and the Caliphs. In no period of the world had the tottering and powerless condition of its empires been such as in the seventh century. The military virtues of the heroes of antiquity disappeared in their descendants, political wisdom no longer guided the public councils, and there existed neither talents nor courage to retrieve the errors, or restore the fortunes of the state. The names of the Persian and Byzantine Emperors were

CHAP. III. were heard through every part of the Asiatic world, but the internal vigour of Persia had for years been gradually decaying, and her wars with Constantinople shook the very basis of her power. The Byzantine empire embraced fair and spacious territories, but it was divested of its strength and splendour by its wars with the Persians, and by the inroads of the Goths and Huns. Moreover it was distracted by civil revolts, the people were harassed and oppressed by the tyranny and extortion of the great, and the descendants of the Cæsars and the Antonines, abandoned to sensuality and sloth in the palaces of Constantinople, were lost to the honourable ambition of preserving the dominion of the world.

But the men who enlisted under the banners of the Prophet of Mecca and his successors, were capable of opposing the Macedonian phalanx itself; and viewing the character of the different Asiatic nations, we can no more wonder at the political revolutions which the Arabians effected, than at the various empires which the Tartars have raised. Both races of men were, in every point of military character, precisely the same. Savageness, ferocity, contempt of danger and death, self-denial, and energy of soul, distinguished as strongly the shepherds of Arabia as those of Tartary. Numerous causes rendered

rendered the Arabians a warlike people. They thought that, in the division of the earth, the rich and fertile climates were assigned to the other branches of the human family, and that the posterity of the outlaw Ishmael might recover, by fraud or force, the portion of inheritance of which he had been unjustly deprived. Robbery, therefore, became a national principle. The country was divided into various governments, and the domestic wars in Europe, during the middle ages, may furnish a faint image of the distracted state of Arabia. Vindictiveness of spirit is peculiarly strong among the Arabs. Blood alone can atone for an injury or an insult; but by a singular law of retaliation, the head, not of the murderer, but of the most distinguished individual of his tribe, is the penalty. Revenge is perpetuated for ages, and we need no clearer proof of the general hostile state of the land, than the fact, that by universal consent, two months were annually consecrated to peace.* CHAP. III.

But in addition to, or in supersession of, the common feelings of warriors, the prosperity of the Saracens was ensured by still more powerful motives. A glowing and impetuous spirit of religious enthusiasm prompted their exertions. The

* Niebuhr's Description de l'Arabie, p. 26—30. Sale's Prelim. Discourse, sec. 7.

CHAP. III. The Muhammedans were as fanatically devoted to the establishing of their religion, as the Crusaders from Europe, five centuries afterwards, were resolved upon its extirpation. Secular principles might have influenced the hearts of both, and self-illusion would give to ambition the name of virtue. But the blessings consequent to martyrdom were equally anticipated by the Saracen and the Crusader, and perhaps the preceding narrative of the Saracenian wars, when compared with a history of the Crusades, will authorize the conclusion, that enthusiasm animated the Muhammedan more strongly than the Christian mind.

History opposes no parallel to the conquests of the Saracens. Changes in language, manners, and opinions, have been made in vanquished nations; but these were the gradual, remote, and often unheeded results of subjugation. The Saracens carried the sword in one hand, and the Koran was in the other. Political aggrandizement was the means, not the end of their warfare. The success of their religion and their arms kept equal pace. "The circumstance," says the sagacious Paley, "that Muhammed's conquests should carry his religion "along with them, will excite little surprize, "when we know the conditions which he proposed to the vanquished; death or conversion

"was

"was the only choice offered to idolators. To CHAP. III.
"the Jews and Christians was left the somewhat
"milder alternative of subjection and tribute, if
"they persisted in their own religion, or of an
"equal participation of the rights and liberties,
"the honours and privileges, of the faithful, if
"they embraced the religion of their con-
"querors."* And if the political imbecility of the Eastern and Persian empires facilitated the progress of the arms of Muhammed, the religious disputes among the Christians of the east, and the prevailing state of darkness and ignorance, were not less favourable to the advancement of his religion. In the very early ages of Christianity, the corruption of the simple doctrines of the seven churches of Asia commenced. Mankind, always more disposed to speculation on religion than to the practice of virtue, have attempted the investigation of subjects, which Providence has purposely hidden from their view. With the humble acknowledgment of the connection of divinity and humanity in the person of Christ, the Asiatic Christians were not contented to rest: and they fearlessly enquired into the nature and essence of that mysterious union. The discussion of matters so far above, though not contrary to reason, involved them in endless controversies.

* Paley's Evidences of Christianity, vol. 2, sec. 3.

CHAP. III. No certainty or satisfaction could, from the nature of the subject, or the imperfection of the human intellect, ever be obtained; the congregated wisdom of the church endeavoured to restore tranquillity by the proclamation of *orthodox* opinions, but the zeal of sectaries mocked this assumption of superior knowledge: innumerable parties distracted the Christian hierarchy, animosity was fomented, the savage spirit of persecution dwelt in every breast, and peace and good-will to men were banished from the earth. At the time of the appearance of Muhammed, literature was but little cultivated; the barbarians of the north had destroyed all the monuments of science, the horrors of war prevented the provincials from thinking of the embellishments of life, while philosophy and the liberal arts could not find patrons among the indolent and luxurious emperors and nobility. Into this state of darkness and delusion superstition naturally entered. The fears of men, not duly moderated by a correct knowledge of the scriptures, prompted the practice of idle, unnecessary, and uncommanded ceremonies; the Virgin Mary was more highly reverenced than Christ himself; saints and martyrs, nay, the relics of their bodies and clothes, were worshipped; with the doctrine of purgatory, which, by supposing men capable of propitiating their

own

own sins, renders nugatory the atonement made by Christ, were a few of the manifold superstitions which terror and credulity produced.* CHAP. III

Permanency of Muhammedanism.

The success of Muhammedanism is a tremendous exception to the general truth, that persecution does not produce conversion. The churches in the various captured cities were changed into mosques; colleges and schools were founded by the conqueror, and motives of worldly interest would occasion the conversion of thousands of weak or ambitious Christians. Their children were born and educated in the faith of Muhammed, and exceeded their apostate fathers in sincerity. Islamism became the established religion of the Asiatic world. Jurisprudence, morals, and all the minute decencies of life, were regulated by the Koran, or by the received expositions of it. Every thing in Asia is a matter of regulation, and freedom of opinion being but little permitted or encouraged in the despotic government of the east, Muhammedanism, when once received, became stationary. The human code is mingled with the divine, and the ideas of change and of profanation are inseparable. As the unsettling of the political and social fabric might ensue from a change of modes of faith, all classes of men were interested in preserving the national worship.

 One

* White's Sermons at the Bampton Lecture.

CHAP. III.

One circumstance of difficult solution still remains. Korasm and Transoxiana were conquered by the Saracens, but some Turkish and Tartarian tribes soon recovered the independence of their country. Islamism was preached by the Saracens, and the idols of the nation were destroyed. Yet in reading the history of the Tartarian people, it will not be found, that the new religion made a very great impression on these boundless regions. Now although it may not excite astonishment, that when the Arabians were expelled from the country, or became lost amidst the general Tartrian population, their religion was not extiguished; yet it is singular, that almost all thes invaders from the north, immediately on the descent into the south, and without waitin for the gradual influence of education, embraced the prevailing religion of the people, hose lands they had invaded. The Tartars old ages possessed their systems of superstiti, but which were instantly abandoned, when fod to be any obstruction to their views of cque st. The Arabs forced their religion upon heir enemies, and other nations of conquerors ve permitted matters of a sacred nature to main at rest. The conduct of the Tartars was nquestionably politic and wise, but we are nt accustomed to attribute the finest motives f policy to the actions of these barbarians.

CHAP. IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE MUHAMMEDAN TARTARIAN EMPIRES.

CHAP. IV.

Geographical limits of Tartary.

A sufficiently accurate notion of Tartary will be obtained, by drawing an imaginary line along the northern shores of the Euxine and Caspian seas, and thence by the eastern side of the Caspian towards the south to Korasan. If this line be extended eastwards by the borders of India, of the countries between India and China, of China itself, and of the kingdom of Corea to the Eastern Ocean, the southern limits of Tartary are defined. On the east it is bounded by the Eastern Ocean, on the north, by the Frozen Ocean, on the west, by an imaginary line from the western extremity of the Euxine to the place where the river Ohi enters the sea. Tartary may be divided into eastern and western Tartary, by a line drawn from the meridian of Pekin to the Frozen Ocean. The territory to the east of this line may be called eastern Tartary, the country to the west may be stiled western Tartary.

CHAP. IV. The ancient Greek geographers knew but little of these vast tracts. Of Siberia they were in total ignorance: the Imaus or Caff, a mountain between Samarçand and Cashgar, bounded their knowledge of the north-east of Asia, and their inquiries had never passed the frozen regions of Caucasus. In the proud days of the republic, Tartary was unknown to the Romans; they thought not of the seats of the tribes from whom the conquerors of their children would proceed, and they could not foresee this disgrace to their posterity, that the smiling plains of the south would be desolated by the Scythian savage. To the whole of this immense country, the Greeks, and the latter Romans, gave the denomination of Scythia. In modern times, and in the western world, it has been generally called Tartary, from the name of a nation subjugated by the tribes of the Moguls. The Muhammedans frequently extend to all the northern wilds, the name of Turkestan, a territory which, by reason of its adjacency to Persia, is better known to them than the rest of the Tartarian region.*

The

* De Guignes, Histoire Général des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des autres Tartares occidentaux, tom. 2, p. 1, &c. 5 tom. 4to. Paris, 1758. D'Herbelot, tom. 4, p. 46, &c. D'Anville, Nouvel Atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie Chinoise, et du Thibet, fol. Haye, 1737.

CHAP. IV.

The character and mode of life of the Tartars.

The shepherds of the north of Asia afford no countenance to those descriptions of poets, which would identify the ideas of peace and innocence with the occupations of a pastoral life. However infinite in variety may be the shades of the moral character and social habits of a people scattered over so large a portion of the globe; yet one great feature of humanity is common to them all, for the records of time present the Tartars to our view as insatiably ambitious. In the cold region of the north of Tartary, nature is sparing of her bounties, and the ungrateful soil refuses the labours of agriculture. The advantage of the genial situation of the southern territories, especially those to the south of eastern Tartary, is not experienced, by reason of the great height of the plains, some of them half a mile above the level of the sea. Destitute, therefore, of corn and fruits, the people are reduced to their flocks and herds for subsistence, and to roam abroad for pasturage. In tents, and in covered waggons, they dwell during their short attachment to any particular spot. In the summer they fly to the north; in the winter they seek in the south, but often in vain, shelter and retreat from a rigorous clime. Bound by no ties to their native lands, all the delights which domestic associations present to the mind are found in the

CHAP. IV.

camp. If discontentedness prompts a wish of change, or if the spirit of conquest seizes them, whether they move as an army or as a company of herdsmen, they feel no reluctance at quitting the place where they had dwelt, nor concern for its future lot. A disposition of aggrandizement is natural to man in all countries, and at every period it has actuated alike the citizen and the savage, the Athenian and the Tartar. The richness and fertility of territories which heaven has blessed with plenty, invited the rapacity of the northern shepherds; they quitted their inhospitable climes, overwhelmed their enervated foes, and thus, for ages, the tide of emigration and conquest flowed and ebbed, through the most sterile and the most productive regions of the earth. The history of Tartary is closely interwoven with the history of the great ancient and modern empires. The proud fabric of Roman grandeur was shaken by domestic corruption, but its ruin was hastened and effected by the barbarians of the north. The political revolutions which distracted northern Asia compelled such tribes of Tartars as had been conquered by their braver countrymen, to descend to the confines of the Roman states for safety and repose. But in a state of peace they could not long remain. From the character of neighbours

bours they changed to that of invaders, and the conquest of the Roman world ensued. CHAP. IV.

The Tartarian irruptions into the south since the days of Muhammed, and as connected with the propagation of his religion, have been five. An history of these irruptions will comprehend a view, I. Of the Muhammedan dynasties in Hindustan;—II. Of the reigns of Zingis Khan and his successors;—III. Of the empire of Tamerlane;—IV. Of the Seljukian dynasties;—and V. Of the rise of the Othman, or present Turkish power. The mighty effects of the transcendent skill in war and politics of the favourites of nature, are strikingly exemplified in the lives of the Asiatic heroes; but the empires which they raised, however splendid or potent, were of a transient nature, for the very names of Mahmud, Seljuk, and even Zingis, soon were lost, and the posterity of Tamerlane preserved in India, and in India alone, the memory of their ancestor. Nor will it be found, that the history of the present Othman Turks, the descendants of a Tartar tribe which constituted a part of the army of Muhammed of Korasm, is any exception to the remark on the instability of Asiatic imperial greatness; for the empire of the Othmans flourished with splendour only for a period comparatively brief, and it has for years been sinking to dissolution.

Their invasions of the countries conquered by Muhammed and his disciples.

CHAP. IV.

I. THE MUHAMMEDAN DYNASTIES IN HINDUSTAN.

A. D. 874.

The Muhammedan dynasties in India founded by Mahmud, Sultan of Gazna.

When the Caliphate of Bagdad was crumbling into ruin, a race of princes, called in Eastern history the Dynasty of the Samanides, despoiled the legitimate Commanders of the Faithful of some of their valuable territories, and exercised kingly authority over Bokharah, Korasan, a great part of the Persian empire, Candahar, Zabulistan, Cabul, and the mountains of the Afghans or Patans. A Turkish slave, by name Alpteghin, ascended the gradations of honourable offices, military and civil, and in the reign of Abdalmalec, the fifth king of the Samanidan dynasty, was appointed governor of the vast province of Korasan. On the death of his master, he endeavoured to wrest the sceptre from the feeble possession of Mansour, the infant son of the late prince; but the Emirs of the country rallied round the throne, and Alpteghin quitted the royal city of Bokharah. To the town of Gazna, situated on the westernmost parts of the Cowmul, one of the numerous rivers which are tributary to the Indus, the aspiring governor and the admirers of his courage and ambition retreated. Mansour strove in vain to terminate his power, and for sixteen years Alpteghin increased his dominions and his fame.* Sabactazin,

A. D. 995.

* D'Herbelot, vol. 1, p. 203.

tazin, at once his son-in-law, his general, and counsellor, became also his successor. Although master in Gazna, he was for some time regarded by the Samanides only as the governor of a province. His exact military discipline, and his liberality to officers, gained him the love and admiration of his subjects. He established peace and good order through every part of his dominions, carried his arms and the Muselman faith into India, destroyed the monuments of Pagan superstition, ravaged the Panjab, and built the town of Bost, and that of Kosdar near the Indus. Nouh, the son of Mansour, treated Sabactazin as an ally, rather than as a subject. The King of Turkestan threatened the extinction of the Samanidan dynasty; but the courage of the Gaznavides supported the throne, and the Turks were driven from the invaded provinces.* CHAP. IV. A. D. 997.

On the death of Sabactazin, his youngest son Ishmael, in pursuance of his father's wishes, was recognized as king; but Mahmud, who had already distinguished himself in assisting his father in the war with the king of Turkestan, took up arms against his brother, and asserted with effect his right of primogeniture. Mahmud may be considered the first prince of the Gaznavide Sultans, and made a lofty superstructure Reign of Mahmud.

* De Guignes, vol. 3, p. 156—159.

CHAP. IV.

ture on the foundation of power which Sabactazin had laid. The kingdom of the Samanides

A. D. 999.

was annihilated, and the public prayers for the family of his ancestors' masters were blotted from the service books of the mosque. Irak Persia submitted to his yoke, and even the humble independence of the little territory of Gaur, which, under the descendants of a branch of a Persian dynasty, had long enjoyed tranquillity amidst surrounding calamities, was offensive to his insatiable ambition. In fact, from the Caspian to the Ganges, from Transoxiana to the neighbourhood of Ispahan, no tyrant but Mahmud reigned.

His twelve expeditions into India.

But it is by this Sultan,* as the founder of the Muhammedan power in India, that our interest is excited. Before his reign, the incursions into this interesting country by other Muselman princes had been few and partial, but the prospect of plunder inspired the soldiers of Mahmud with courage against the elephants of war, and in twelve expeditions into Hindustan, his conquests far surpassed those of the Macedonian hero. The town of Kinnoge,

* Mahmud was the first Muhammedan prince who bore this name. The previous title had been malek or king. By the application of this title of sultan to Mahmud, a governor of Segistan flattered the vanity of his lord, and saved himself from the penalties of rebellion.

Kinnoge, on the Upper Ganges, the cities of Lahor, Delhi, and Muttra, became his tributaries, and his troops rioted in the spoils of the wealthy kingdom of Guzerat. In the course of his incursions into the west of India, he discovered one of the most splendid objects of Indian superstition. Two thousand Brahmins, and numerous bands of dancing girls and musicians, were devoted to the service of the Pagoda of Sumnaut. The lofty roof of this temple was supported by fifty-six pillars, overlaid with plates of gold, and incrusted at intervals with rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones. One pendant lamp alone illumined the spacious fabric, whose light, reflected back from innumerable jewels, spread a strong and refulgent lustre throughout the temple. In the midst stood Sumnaut himself, an idol composed of one entire stone, fifty cubits in height, forty-seven of which were buried in the ground; and on that spot, according to Brahminical tradition, he had been adored between four and five thousand years. His image was washed every morning and evening with fresh water brought from the Ganges, at a distance of twelve hundred miles. Around the dome were dispersed some thousands of images, in gold and silver, of various shapes and dimensions, so that in this consecrated place, as in a grand Pantheon, seemed

CHAP. IV.

The Pagoda at Sumnaut.

CHAP. IV.

seemed to be assembled all the deities venerated in Hindustan.* The priests invoked, without effect, the wrath of their chief god upon the disturber of their worship. The blood of fifty thousand worshippers was shed in vain for the defence of their idol. A treasure of money and jewels, equal to ten millions sterling, was offered by the Brahmins for the preservation of its sanctity, but at the command of Mahmud, whose religious zeal was shocked at being thought a merchant of idols, the statue was broken into pieces, and a quantity of diamonds and rubies, far greater than the ransom proposed by the crafty priests, fell at his feet. The Gaznavide Sultan treated the Hindus with all the rigour of a conqueror, and with all the fury of a converter, not only plundering treasures, but demolishing temples, and murdering idolators throughout his route.† His enthusiasm for Muhammedanism was as strong, as that which inflamed the breasts of the primitive supporters of that religion, and the title of Protector of the Faithful, which the Bagdad Caliph Caderbillah gave him, by way of investing him with the kingdom of Samania, was well merited

Mahmud's character and death, A. D. 1030.

* Maurice's History of Modern Hindustan, vol. 1, p. 295.

† Orme's Preliminary Dissertation to his Coromandel War, p. 9, vol. 2, 4to. London, 1763.

merited by his bigotry and intolerance. The stern martial virtues of the conqueror, and his excellent qualities as prince, were degraded by the low passion of avarice. In the hour of dissolution, he commanded his spoils of India to be brought before him. Lamentations fell from his tongue, and tears started into his eyes, on beholding the baubles: he offered not to bestow, what it was beyond his ability to keep, and his attendants were compelled to remove them from his sight, as their view served but to increase the anguish of his death.* CHAP. IV.

Fall of the Gaznavide Empire and successors of Mahmud in India.

During the reign of his son and successor Masoud, the Gaznavide empire became more potent, by the addition of the remainder of Persia, (except the province of Fars) and of the territory of the Bowides, on the banks of the Persian Gulph. But the Seljukian Tartars, whose history will hereafter be detailed, availing themselves of a predatory expedition of Masoud into India, conquered from him Korasan. The loss of this province was soon succeeded by the total dismemberment of the Gaznavide empire. A. D. 1160. Kosrow Shaw, the last prince of this dynasty, was deposed by Houssain Gauri, a native of Gaur,

* D'Herbelot, vol. 2, p. 517—525. De Guignes, vol. 3, p. 160—173. Dow's Hist. Hindustan, vol. 1, p. 34—99. 4to. edit. 1768.

CHAP. IV. Gaur, who became possessed of a large portion of the western part of the Gaznavide empire, while the descendants of Mahmud retained for a few years the provinces contiguous to both
A.D. 1184. shores of the Indus. But the Gaurides wrested the sceptre of these territories from their weak possessors, and established the seat of Muhammedan power in India at Lahor. The Gaur Sultans adopted the religious zeal, as well as the military spirit of the Gaznavides. Muhammed
1194. Gauri plundered Benares, the chief city of the Indian religion, and destroyed the idols with circumstances of cruelty worthy of a successor
1205. of Mahmud.* The death of this emperor occasioned a new division of the Gaznavide empire. Eldoze retained the Persian part, and the Indian territories were enjoyed by Cuttub, the friend and servant of the late emperor. By Cuttub, the Patan or Afghan dynasty in Hindustan was founded. The Afghans originally inhabited the

* Benares was regarded as the principal seat of Braminical learning; and we may conclude that about this period the Sanscrit language, which was before the common language of Hindustan, began to decline in purity, by the admixture of words from that of the invaders. In the course of time new dialects, mixtures of the vernacular idioms and the language of the conquerors, were formed, and the Sanscrit in its original purity existed only in ancient writings. Rennell's Memoir to his Map of Hindustan, Introd. p. 47.

the mountainous tract lying between India and Persia, or the ancient Paropamisus. Cuttub, prior to his elevation to the throne, had carried his arms, under Muhammed Gauri, into Agimul and Guzerat. Until the completion of his conquests, Lahor was his capital, but the necessity of fixing the imperial residence near the centre of his dominions, occasioned his removal to Delhi. His successor, the emperor Altumsh, conquered the vast province of Bengal, and established in it the Muhammedan religion. The Persian or Tartarian parts of the Gaznavide or Gaur territories were, at this period, added to the empire of Zingis Khan.* CHAP. IV.

Through the next two ages, the Moguls continually spoliated the reigning Moslem princes of the wealth which they had plundered from the Hindus, and dismissing this dark period with a general notice, we pause to consider the descent of Timour into India. This destroyer of the human race renewed with dreadful effect the irruptions of the Moguls. Ninety thousand horse crossed near Kawuck, the Hindu Kho, or Indian Caucasus. The passage of these mountains demanded the courage of an enterprizing chief. The snows yielded not to the influence of the summer season, and the natu-

Timour's invasion of India. A. D. 1399.

o ral

* Rennell's Memoir, Introd. p. 48, et seq.

CHAP. IV. ral difficulties of the ascent of the mountains were aggravated by the incessant attacks of the Siahposhians—fierce and rapacious highlanders. In the descent, thousands of men and horses were precipitated from the eminences that intervened between the extreme summit of the mountain and the level land. Tamerlane himself was placed on a raft, to which by means of rings, cords of one hundred and fifty cubits in length were attached. His soldiers guided it over the snow, or lowered it through the air, till it reached the foot of the mountain.*

It was at the passage of Attok, that the Macedonian hero crossed the Indus.† The Tartarian chief directed his march through Cabul: thence to Irjab, Shenuzan, Nughz, Bunnoo, and passed the Indus at Reishi, a town some distance below Attok.‡ In pursuing

* De Guignes, book 20. † Rennell's Memoir, p. 121.

‡ Very seldom can an error be detected in Mr. Gibbon's Geography. But that great historian is incorrect in stating that Timour and Alexander crossed the Indus at the same place; viz. at Attok. That Alexander crossed at Attok is agreed on all hands. Now there is a ridge of snowy mountains between Bunnoo and Attok; and Sherefeddin, and other accredited historians of Timour, do not relate that his route was through these mountains—a circumstance which they would have noticed, if such had been the fact: for the passage is very difficult and dangerous. Timour, therefore, must have crossed the Indus at the south of this ridge.

ing the course of the Panjab, or five tributary streams of the Indus, which give the name of Panjab to the frontier province towards Tartary, he followed the footsteps of Alexander. On the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, generally called the fourth of the Panjab rivers, and on the borders of the desert, Alexander halted, wept, and abandoned his enterprize. Timour passed the Dena, one of the four branches of the Setlige, crossed the desert, destroyed the fortress of Batnir, and thence by the road of Samanah he arrived at Delhi.* But during his route, the number of his prisoners became formidably great. His release of them would have been impolitic, and in the event of the loss of a battle their revolt was to be dreaded. The cruel nature of Tamerlane easily suggested an expedient, and in less than an hour from his brief discussion of the subject with his officers, an hundred thousand Indians were slaughtered.† CHAP. IV.

The wealthy city of Delhi was too far sunk in sloth and luxury, to make a powerful resistance to the Tartars. The Sultan Mahmood arrayed a force of elephants with poisoned daggers affixed to their tusks; but they either perished

* Rennell's Memoir of his Map on Hindustan, p. 92-121.

† Petit de la Croix's Hist. de Timour Bec. liv. 4, c. 18.

CHAP. IV. perished in the ditches which Timour prepared for them, or fell in the general destruction of men and horses. The principal Muhammedan city of India opened its gates to the conqueror; and the pillage and massacres in the streets of Delhi satiated the avarice and cruelty of the troops.*

Zeal for Muhammedanism was not absorbed by the spirit of ambition. But in the true character of a conqueror, he resolved that the sword should exterminate rather than that preaching should convert the inoffensive Gentoos. To the place where the Ganges issues from the mountains, and where the natives resort at certain seasons to purify themselves in that sacred stream, the Mogul army proceeded; and the massacres which Tamerlane commanded fully justified the title which the people gave him, in the midst of their horror and sufferings, of "*the destroying* "*Prince.*" From this place turning to the north west, along the foot of Mount Sewalick, he continued his devastations, though not without opposition, until he arrived on the frontiers of Cashmere,† and so ardent was his desire to extend his conquests to the extremities of Asia, on

* P. de la Croix, liv. 4, ch. 20. Dow's Hindustan, vol. 2, p. 7—9.

† Rennell's Memoir, Introd. p. 55.

on the north and west, that scarcely six months had elapsed, between the time of his crossing and recrossing the Indus. This Scythian savage was the robber, rather than the conqueror of Hindustan. He executed no measures to ripen a Mogul invasion into a Mogul government, and even disturbed not the order of succession to the imperial throne. CHAP. IV.

Long before the days of Timour India had been a seene of universal agitation. The governors of the different provinces into which it was divided frequently deserted their allegiance to their prince, and the wars consequent on rebellion desolated a land, which, in the language of Major Rennel, seems destined to be the paradise of the world. With the death of Mahmood, the emperor who reigned at Timour's invasion, the Patan dynasty terminated. Chizer, a Seid, (that is to say, one of the race of the prophet Muhammed) succeeded him, and his posterity enjoyed the imperial dignity, till Belloni, of the Afgan tribe of Lodi, took possession of it. But the government of Hindustan was too nice and difficult a task for the Afgan Prince. Sovereignty was assumed by the rulers of the provinces, among whom a potentate, stiled King of the East, whose residence was at Jionpour, in the province of Allahabad, became the most formidable. A. D. 1413. 1450.

CHAP. IV. Political revolutions and civil discord in Hindustan presented to Sultan Baber, a descendant of Tamerlane, a tempting field for ambitious projects. The northern part of his dominions was invaded by the Usbecs. He quitted his provinces between the Indus and Samarcand; all India obeyed his summons of submission; and at Agra he received the title of Emperor of Hindustan. With this sovereignty the empire of the great Moguls commenced. The glory of the house of Timour soon increased. Ackber, the grandson of Baber, left behind him one of the fairest characters which the pen of the historian has ever drawn. The title of the Guardian of Mankind was not a mere expression of Asiatic subserviency. From Agimere to Bengal he restored peace to the distracted people. Rulers, celebrated for their judgment and moderation, were appointed; the manners of the Hindus were respected; no narrow bigotry in the government checked the exercise of conscience among the people; and so liberal were his sentiments on the propriety of a free and full discussion of doctrines, that the Christian missionaries aspired to the honor of his conversion.* By Ackber Hindustan was divided into eleven soubahs; each of these into circars,

A. D. 1530. Mogul empire.

Ackber.

1605.

* De Guignes, vol. v. p. 99.

circars, or counties, and these divisions into pungunnahs, or hundreds. Under the auspices of Shah Jehan, the grandson of Ackber, Delhi became once more the metropolis of the empire, and was restored to magnificence and splendour. CHAP. IV.

But domestic wars disturbed the regular course of Muhammedan succession. The imprisonment of his father, Shah Jehan, and the murder of his brothers, who were seniors to himself, left the throne vacant for Aureng Zib. Aureng Zib. By this prince, a monster of fanaticism and ambition, the Mogul empire was raised to its meridian of power. His authority extended from the 10th to the 35th degree of latitude, and nearly as much in longitude, containing at least sixty-four millions of inhabitants; and the annual revenue of the crown exceeded thirty-two millions sterling, in a country, where the products of the earth are quadruple as cheap as in England. But in the instance of Aureng Zib, the moralist will remark the incompatibility of human happiness with the attainment of the objects of human ambition through seas of blood. In speaking of the feelings of Aureng-Zib in the awful hour of dissolution, Major Rennel* uses these judicious expressions: "Two letters, "written

* Rennell, p. 63; and Maurice, vol. 2, p. 494.

CHAP. IV.

" written by him to two of his sons, a few days " before his death, furnish this striking lesson to " frail mortality, that however men may forget " themselves during the tide of prosperity, a " day of RECOLLECTION will sooner or later ar- " rive. Here we are presented with the dying " confession of an aged monarch, who made his " way to the throne by the murder of his bre- " thren and the imprisonment of his father; " and who, after being in possession of it, per- " secuted the most inoffensive part of his sub- " jects, either through bigotry or hypocrisy. " Here we behold him, in the act of resigning " THAT, to obtain possession of which he in- " curred his guilt; and presenting to us a mere " sinful man, trembling on the verge of eternity, " equally deploring the past and dreading the " future. How awful must his situation appear " to him, when he says; ' *Wherever I look, I* " *see nothing but the Divinity.*' "

The difference of the talents of monarchs in despotic governments, has been the main cause of the transient duration of the various eastern empires. In all well-formed kingdoms, institutions, rather than princes, are the support of the state; but on the decease of an Asiatic despot, the proud fabric of his wars and politics begins to totter. From the death of Aureng Zib commenced the fall of the Mogul empire.

A. D. 1707. Fall of the Mogul Empire.

His

His great qualifications for the exercise of so vast a power descended not with the succession, and the magic of his name was no more. Factions among the royal family instigated the rebellion of the Soubahs of provinces. The officers of state ruled the country; and the descendants of Tamerlane were mere shadows of royalty, except in the seraglio. Virtue fled from the land; no principles of honour or patriotism remained; great abilities produced nothing but great crimes; the industry of the people was exhausted by oppression; and the eyes of individuals being wholly intent upon private advantage, the affairs of the public fell into ruin and confusion.*

In the year 1740, the conspirators against the house of Tamerlane invited Nadir Shah, the usurper of the Persian throne, into Hindustan. The emperor yielded, and the invader made a triumphal entry into the city of Delhi. The murmuring of the inhabitants at the payment of an immense tribute exasperated the barbarian: the signal of death was given, and the metropolis of the Mogul empire became once more the scene of tumult, massacre, and rapine. At this ever to be noted desolation of the venerable

Nadir Shah.

Massacre at Delhi.

* Dow's Hist. of Hindustan. Orme's Prelim. Dissertation, p. 20.

CHAP. IV. rable city of Delhi, the lust of the conquerors, both for treasure and blood, was ferocious, unsparing, and insatiable. So great were the panic and confusion of the inhabitants, that instead of bravely meeting death in manly contest, the men threw down their arms, and with their wives and children submitted themselves to the slaughter. The Hindus, according to their barbarous custom, shut up their wives and daughters, set fire to their apartments, and then threw themselves into the flames. Thousands plunged headlong into wells; death was seen in every horrid shape, and at last appeared rather to be sought than avoided. At the solicitation of the emperor Muhammed, the scene of blood was closed. "Spare my people," cried the wretched monarch; and the conqueror of India replied: "The Emperor of India must never ask "in vain." Nadir Shah re-seated him on his throne; "and this destructive comet," to use the expression of the Persian author translated by Dow, "rolled back from the meridian of "Delhi, burnt all the towns and villages, and "marked his route with devastation and death." He left the country to its enjoyment of repose, which soon however was disturbed by the civilized plunderers from Europe, who rivalled in rapacity the Tartarian freebooters. Seven centuries had elapsed, from the reign of Mahmud

to

to the invasion of Hindustan by the usurper of the throne of Persia. Numerous had been the dynasties, and various the revolutions of the Muhammedan empire during this long period. Here, however, its termination may be dated; and the religion of the Arabian prophet was supported no longer in India by imperial power. Several emperors, it is true, successively ascended the throne; but so completely nominal was their authority, that if it belonged to the purpose of these sheets to bring the history of India down to later times, the rise of the British government would be the leading subject.* CHAP. IV.

II.—THE REIGNS OF ZINGIS KHAN AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

In the spacious highlands, which are bounded on the east by Eastern Tartary, on the west by the great desert, on the south by the Chinese wall, and on the north by the Kalkas and part of Eastern Tartary, the ancestors of Zingis had long supported an imperial title. The ideas of Scythian and savage can never be separated, in considering the character of these Moguls. Nature has denied them all beauty of form, and their manners are offensively gross. Their existence is preserved by eating the flesh of horses and

* Dow's History of Hindustan, vol. 2, p. 19—25. Fraser's History of Nadir Shah, p. 184, &c.

CHAP. IV.

and domestic animals, and drinking the milk of the goat and cow. Their only luxury is a distillation from mare's milk, called cosmos. A deity named Natagai, the creator of all things, is acknowledged, but not adored. The heavenly bodies, and particularly the moon, attract their worship, and scarcely a tent is without its idol. Their confidence in sorceries knows no limit, and the predictions drawn from the flight of birds fix their decisions on military enterprises. "They are more obedient unto their lords and "masters," says an old writer in Hakluyt, "than "any other, either clergy or lay people, in the "whole world." In their domestic intercourse, their conduct is free from the vices of thieving, envy, and lying, while hospitality, the virtue of savages, renders them accessible by strangers.*

Birth and early life of Zingis.

An origin perfectly human, was inconsistent with those ideas of greatness, which the exploits of Zingis formed in the fancy of the conquering Tartars. His origin was traced to the sun himself, and from the immaculate conception of

* De Guignes, vol. 4. p. 19. No crime, observes Justin, is accounted by the Scythians more atrocious than theft: for if any indulgence were given to this offence among a people whose flocks and herds are unavoidably left unguarded on the plains, property would not be secure. Unlike the rest of the world they do not covet gold and silver, but are contented to live upon milk and honey. Lib. 2, chap. 2.

of a virgin, his seventh ancestor, it was thought that he proceeded; while signs in the heavens, and prodigies on earth, marked the important hour of the birth of the destroyer of Asia. A.D. 1154. For the commemoration of a victory over the Sou Moguls, Behadour, the father of Zingis, called him Temudgin, the name of the conquered Khan. The premature death of Behadour left Zingis an orphan, and the powerful chiefs of the empire disdained submission to a boy of only thirteen years of age.* The friendship felt by Oung, the Khan of the Kareits, for the father of Zingis, was extended to Zingis himself, and in the city of Karakorum (afterwards his capital) his talents became matured. His abilities were rewarded by several civil and military charges. But the courtiers envied the honours of the stranger, and the credulous Khan listened to their tales of his projects for obtaining imperial power. To avoid death from an assassin's dagger, Zingis fled with a few faithful adherents, and by the sacrifice of a horse, and drinking from a river, he displayed his resolution to share with his friends, both the sweets and the bitters of life.

CHAP. IV.

Fortune followed Zingis through all his enterprises. The haughty chieftains of his native land

* D'Herbelot, vol. 2, p. 93.

CHAP. IV. land submitted, or were conquered, and in a general diet of Mogul and Tartar princes, held at Thamankohrah, near Deylun Yildak, he displayed the standard of his power. The proud were humbled, the politic yielded, and a hired impostor, who could rise to heaven on a flying horse, awed the imagination of the superstitious people, by proclaiming, that Temudgin was Zingis, the *greatest*,* and was lord of all the world.†

Called the Great Khan.

A. D. 1206. A Tartarian prince, who had subjugated an arrogant and powerful nobility, could not in the moment of prosperity remain at peace. To the 1210–1214. empire of China the ancestors of Zingis had for ages paid a tribute of wealth or of respect, but the time of independence and of power was now arrived. The great wall presented no resistance, and the Tartars poured into the country. The transient beauty of a Chinese princess, and the solid enjoyment of an immense treasure, deferred for two years the worst consequences of war; but the ambition of Zingis was quickened, rather than sated: the Tartars were again in arms, and the five northern provinces were dismembered

His invasion of China.

* In the Mogul language, the word Zingis is the superlative of greatness, and is applied to the heavens and the sea, as well as to a great conqueror.

† Price, vol. 2, p. 486.

dismembered from the vast fabric of the Chinese monarchy. CHAP. IV.

From the Persian gulph to the borders of India and Turkestan, the sultans of Korasm, once subjects of the Seljuks, reigned over the vast intermediate territories. The prince upon the throne, whose name was Muhammed, violated the laws of nations, rejected with disdain the friendly offers of Zingis for a commercial intercourse between the two nations, and murdered his ambassadors. Atonement for the injury and insult was refused, and the banner of war was again unfurled. "I call God to bear witness "to the justice of my cause," said Zingis to his soldiers, "and I swear that I take arms "only for the support of those laws of nations, "which have been violated in the murder of "my representative." The armies of Zingis, which, to use an eastern hyperbole, outnumbered the drops of rain, met and overthrew the four hundred thousand soldiers of Muhammed in the plains at the north of the Sihon or Jaxartes. The consequences of this victory were most eventful. Bucharia, Turkestan, Korasm, and even the vast empire of Persia, acknowledged the power of Zingis, and from the Caspian Sea to the Indus, the Mogul savages committed such violations of humanity, that

A. D. 1218–1224.

And of Korasm and Persia.

even

CHAP. IV. even Zingis pretended to mourn the misery of the conquered.

In the solitude of a desert island in the Caspian Sea Muhammed perished, unpitied by the world. But the heroism of his son Gelaleddin, though productive of no great issues, has been proudly celebrated by the most distinguished Persian poets. From the ruins of his father's army he raised a brave and numerous troop, and in his well measured retreat to the province of Gazna, many of the Moguls fell before the steadiness and spirit of his attacks. But the bands of the Tartars were innumerable. The friends of Gelaleddin, despairing of success in arms, implored the clemency of the conqueror: the hero himself was driven to the banks of the Indus. He spurred his horse into the rapid stream, and crossed it, unhurt by the arrows of the Tartars. His ferocious enemies called for the signal of pursuit, but with a magnanimity rare in Asiatic warriors, Zingis shewed his admiration of his foe, by commanding his retreat to be unmolested.*

Fate of Gelaleddin.

The subversion of the Korasmite empire did not close the career of glory of Zingis. His generals subdued the rebellious western provinces of Persia, took the city of Derbend, passed

* D'Herbelot, vol. 2, p. 82—88.

passed the Volga and the Desert, and traversed the banks of the Caspian Sea. In his Tartarian dominions, and perhaps in his chief city of Kara-Korum, or Holim, at the mouth of the Onguin in Kalkas Tartary, Zingis reposed awhile from slaughter and desolation. But a sickness at length seized him, which he foresaw would be fatal. He exhorted his sons to unanimity, and expired, while urging them to complete the ruin of the Chinese empire.* CHAP. IV. Death of Zingis. A. D. 1227.

Of the numerous progeny of Zingis, and his harem of five hundred wives and concubines, four sons were distinguished with particular marks of his regard. In the city of Kara-Korum, the three younger brothers resigned all pretensions to the throne, and saluted Oktai as the great Khan. The Zingishanidan dynasty lasted through thirteen princes, and expired with Abousaid. During the space of a century, which intervened from the death of Zingis to the reign of the last potent monarch of his house, the page of the annals of blood is full of events of a magnitude and variety seldom seen. Our European battles, judiciously ob- His successors. A. D. 1335.

* De Guignes, vol. 4, book 15. In addition to my two chief oriental guides, D'Herbelot and De Guignes, I have received great assistance from a spirited and well written life of Zingis by M. de la Croix, senior, in one volume duodecimo, printed at Paris 1716.

CHAP. IV.

serves Voltaire, are petty skirmishes, compared with the thousands who have fought and fallen in the plains of Asia: and the remark may with equal truth be applied to the comparative extent of European and Asiatic empires; for the power of the Zingishanidan princes extended north to south, from the south of China to the northern extremity of Siberia, and east to west, from the eastern sea to the western districts of Poland.

Conquest of China. A. D. 1234-1279.

The northern division or dynasty of China soon became a province of the Mogul empire. The dynasty of Song, the native and ancient sovereigns of all the Chinese lands, survived about forty-five years the fall of the northern usurpers, and the perfect conquest was reserved for Cublai, the general, and then the successor of Mangou, the fourth emperor in succession from Zingis. During this interval, the Moguls were often diverted by foreign wars, and if the Chinese occasionally dared to meet their victors in the field, their passive courage presented an endless succession of cities to storm, and of millions to slaughter. In the attack and defence of places, the engines of antiquity and the Greek fire were alternately employed: the use of gunpowder in cannon and bombs appears to have been familiar,* though perhaps its recent

* De Guignes, vol. 4, p. 86.

cent discovery in Europe had been transmitted to China by the caravans of the fourteenth century. After passing the great river, the troops and artillery were conveyed along a series of canals, till they invested the royal residence of Hamcheu or Quinsay; in the country of silk, the most delicious climate of China. The emperor, a defenceless youth, surrendered his person and sceptre, and before he was sent an exile into Tartary, he struck nine times the ground with his forehead, to adore in prayer or thanksgiving the mercy of the great Khan. Yet the war (or as it was now styled, the rebellion) still existed in the southern provinces from Hamcheu to Canton; and the obstinate remnant of independence and hostility was transported from the land to the sea. But when the fleet of the Song was surrounded and oppressed by a superior armament, their last champion leaped into the waves, with the infant emperor in his arms. "It is more glorious," he cried, "to live a prince than to die a slave." An hundred thousand Chinese imitated his example; and the whole empire, from Tonkin to the great wall, submitted to the dominion of Cublai. His boundless ambition aspired to the conquest of Japan: his fleet was twice shipwrecked, and the lives of an hundred thousand Moguls and Chinese were sacrificed in the fruit- CHAP. IV.

CHAP. IV. less expedition. But the circumjacent kingdoms, Corea, Tonkin, Cochinchina, Pegu, Bengal, and Thibet, were reduced to different degrees of tribute or obedience, by the effort or terror of his arms. He explored the Indian Ocean with a fleet of a thousand ships. After a voyage of sixty-eight days it reached the isle, most probably, of Borneo, under the equinoctial line; and though this unusual armament returned not without spoil or glory, the emperor was dissatisfied that the savage king had escaped from his power.

Subjugation of Asia and Europe, A.D. 1235-1258.

Almost all the great states of Europe and Asia floated to the abyss. If not the first in time, yet certainly high in point of interest to the reader of Muhammedan annals, was the Mogul conquest of the capital of Islamism. Since the fall of their Seljukian tyrants, the Caliphs had recovered their lawful dominion of Bagdad and the Arabian Irak; but the city was distracted by the fury of polemics, and the court exhibited disgusting scenes of political imbecility and personal profligacy. After a siege of two months, Bagdad was stormed and sacked by the enemies of God and his Prophet, and their barbarian chief commanded the death of the Caliph Mostasem, the last of the temporal successors of Muhammed, whose noble kinsmen, of the race of Abbas, had reigned in Asia

Asia above five hundred years. Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine, swelled the dreadful list of the Mogul's triumphs. Egypt would have been lost, if her defence had been entrusted to her feeble offspring; but the Mamlouks had breathed in their infancy the keenness of a Scythian air: equal in valour, superior in discipline, they met the Moguls in many a well fought field, and drove back the stream of hostility to the eastward of the Euphrates. In consequence of some circumstances of politics of which we are ignorant, the Greek empire escaped the fury of the Tartars: for had the Scythian shepherds undertaken the siege, Constantinople must have yielded to the fate of Pekin, Samarcand, and Bagdad. CHAP. IV.

An acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Zingishanidan Khan, was extorted from the wandering Tartars of Kipjak and Turkestan, and the hardy mountaineers of Caucasus. The civil discord of the great dukes of Russia opened their country to the invaders, and their loss of a great battle on the Kalka river, was followed by the submission of the western regions of Russia. The Moguls spread from Livonia to the Black Sea, and both Moscow and Kiow, the modern and ancient capitals, were reduced to ashes.* In Poland and the borders of Ger-

* Levesque, Hist. de Russie, tom. 2, p. 78, &c. edition Hamb. 1800.

CHAP. IV. many, the cities of Lublin and Cracow shared the fate of the metropolis of Russia: the Tartars approached the shores of the Baltic; and in the battle of Lignitz, they defeated the Dukes of Silesia, the Polish Palatines, and the great Master of the Teutonic Order, and filled nine sacks with the right ears of the slain. Silesia and Moravia were made desolate*; Hungary, so often in after times the theatre of Christian and Turkish warfare, was twice invaded. By the usual Tartarian process, it was reduced to barbaric desolation. But when the fury of the Tartars had ceased, Hungary did not rise to independence. The king, Bela the Fourth, unworthy of reigning, had fled to the islands of the Adriatic, and the Emperor Frederic the Second imposed the Austrian yoke upon the country.† Sclavonia, Bosnia, Servia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and the whole eastern shore of the Adriatic, felt the Tartarian storm. From the south it visited again the north. We may treat with contempt the tale, that the Moguls "proceeded into a "country lying upon the ocean sea, where they "found certain monsters, who in all things re-"sembled the shapes of men, saving that their "feet were like the feet of an ox, and that they "had men's heads, but dogs' faces; that they "spake,

* Henelii ab Henenfield Annales Silesiæ, p. 249.

† M. Paris, p. 618. Script. Rerum, Hung. 79-195, &c. fol. 1600.

"spake, as it were, two words like men, but at "the third they barked like dogs." It seems probable, however, that the Moguls discovered the Samoides, in the neighbourhood of the polar circle; a people who dwelt in subterraneous huts, and wore garments made of the skins of beasts. The grand duchy of Wladimir was preserved from total ruin. Under Alexander Newski, a wise and politic prince, the tribute to his masters, the Moguls, was regularly paid, and dependence soon became only nominal. Russia, at the first moment of her appearance among the great states of Europe, recalled with pleasure the history of Wladimir; and a convent on the banks of the Neva, founded by Peter the Great, and an order of merit instituted by Catharine the First, will long commemorate the name of Alexander.*

The irruptions into Europe of the Huns, and afterwards of the Arabs, had destroyed the empire of the Romans; and the influence of the Muhammedan religion diffused a general similarity in language, opinions, and manners, among the various nations who occupy the ample territory between the Ganges and the Atlantic. If the disciples of the Arabian Prophet oppressed

 the

* Müller, Vie d'Alexandre Newski, cited by Koch, Tab. des Révolutions de l'Europe, tom. 1, p. 303.

CHAP. IV. the religion and liberty of the Christian world, it might be apprehended, that the shepherds of Scythia would extinguish her cities, her arts, and all the institutions of civil society. The alarm which the Tartars occasioned, was sounded even in the city of Rome. A mission of Fran-
A. D. 1246. ciscan and Dominican friars exhorted them "to give over the bloody slaughter of mankind, and to preserve the Christian faith." But the great Khan affirmed, that he was the image of God on earth, whose power extended over all creation; that all people who wished to avoid extermination should offer to resign to him their possessions; and that the only terms upon which the Pope could preserve his power, was to appear before the throne of the Khan, and do homage:*—a reply not more irrational than the claims which the Popes themselves in that age asserted, to the office of supreme temporal lords of the universe. But the feuds of the Mogul princes averted the fate of the western world. A native of China ascended the throne of that kingdom. The Khans of the different divisions of Tartary, and the Emperors of Persia, became independent, and the empire of the Zingishanidan dynasty was lost.†

Fall of the Zingishanidan dynasty.
A. D. 1295.

* De Guignes, vol. 3, p. 117, &c.

† De Guignes, vol. 4, book 15.—Gibbon, ch. 64. Voltaire, Essai sur l'Histoire générale, tom. 2, ch. 48. Car-

III. THE EMPIRE OF TAMERLANE.

In the fourteenth century, the tempest of Tartarian desolation again rose, and the shipwreck of the nations of the south ensued. The country called by oriental geographers Transoxiana, Zagatai, or Mawralnahr, had, from the time of the death of Zingis until the period of which we are writing, been governed by the descendants of Zagatai (one of the four favoured sons of Zingis), who acknowledged the supremacy of the great Khans of Tartary. Carascar, the vizier of Zagatai, left to his family the lordship of the province of Kesch. In the village of Sebtz near Samarcand, Tamerlane, or Timour Bec,* was born, and he numbered among his ancestors, Carascar and some female relatives of Zingis. The successors of Zagatai had been recently hurled from the throne of Transoxiana, and the ambitious Emirs distracted the land with their contentions.† The Khans of Kasghar,

CHAP. IV.

Birth of Timour, April A. D. 1336.

pin's interesting narrative in the first volume of Hakluyt. Stritter, Mem. Popul. Semptenrion, tom. 3, p. 1025—1045. M. Paris, tom. 1. p. 211—214.

* Timour is the correct name of this Prince. Timour in the Turkish language means iron. Beg is a lord. Lenk signifies in the Persian language, lame. Timour lenk has been corrupted into Tamerlane. See D'Herbelot, art. Timour.

† De Guignes, liv. 17 and 20. D'Herbelot, art. Timour.

CHAP. IV. with an army of Getes or Calmucs, seized this moment of weakness, and invaded the kingdom. The disturbed condition of the country rendered resistance fruitless, and the first memorable action in Timour's life marks his policy and address. He deprecated by timely submission the wrath of the Gete princes, and received from them the government of his own native province of Kesch.

But a state of dependence ill accorded with the proud spirit of Timour. The Emirs of Zagatai pretended to be roused by his exhortations to them to throw off a foreign yoke, but their courage failed them in the hour of danger, and Timour with difficulty saved himself from the incessant attacks of the Getes. The Sultan Houssain was the representative in Transoxiana of the Khans of Kashgar. The Emirs again were animated by the desire of independence, and Timour appeared in the field. In meeting his former confederates, there was a mixture of pathos and of joy. "When," says he, "the "eyes of three chiefs of a few horsemen fell "upon me, they were overwhelmed with plea-"sure, and they alighted from their horses; "and they came and kneeled, and they kissed "my stirrup. I also came down from my "horse, and took each of them into my arms. "And I put my turban on the head of the

" first chief; and my girdle, rich in jewels, and CHAP. IV.
" wrought with gold, I bound on the loins of
" the second; and the third I clothed with my
" own garment. And they wept, and I wept
" also; and the hour of prayer was arrived, and
" we prayed. And we mounted our horses,
" and came to my dwelling; and I collected
" my people, and I made a feast."*

The contest for empire was long and bloody. But the military genius of Timour triumphed over the Getes; and the dagger of one of his faithful friends removed Houssain from the throne. In a successful rebellion the tyranny survives, though the tyrants are changed. The Emirs could not contend with Timour; and in the spring of the year, at a general diet, he clothed himself with an imperial mantle, put the royal crown upon his own head, and accepted the title from his admiring friends, of the Master of the World.† The title of prince or emir was his usual distinction. Even in the plenitude of his pride and power, he never assumed the pre-eminent distinction of Sultan or Khan. The Tartars reflected with veneration on the warlike merits of their departed victorious leader; and fancied that Timour acknowledged

His assumption of the imperial dignity. A. D. 1370.

* Davy's Institutes of Timour, p. 53—55, 4to. 1783.

† Petit de la Croix's Hist. Timour Bec (4 vol. 12mo. Paris, 1722.) liv. 1. and liv. 2, c. 1.

CHAP. IV.

knowledged the superiority of Zingis and his family in not using their name of honour. This was a prejudice harmless in its nature; and as it formed no impediment in his career of ambition, he permitted his subjects its indulgence. On the throne of Samarcand he meditated the conquest of the world. His expedition into India has been already detailed. Round the standard of Tamerlane the Mogul nations flocked: the prudent joined him through fear, but the great body of the people admired an hero, who invited them to the possession of countries, which nature had blessed with her choicest gifts. The infirmities of human nature, and the crimes of nations and of men, will always present sufficient occasions or pretexts for wars and animosities. The Tartars of Kipjak traversed the shores of the Caspian sea, crossed the Jihon, and contended with the greatest Scythian prince of the age for Samarcand itself.

Conquests of Tartary, A. D. 1370-1396.

The invader was driven back to his northern regions, and Timour resolved on revenge. With an army occupying a space of thirteen miles from wing to wing, he left his capital. Through the snows and deserts of the north, a march of six months brought him to his foe. Powerful was the resistance of the Kipjak Tartars, but havoc, fury, and desolation, were at the command of Timour. The hostile nations submitted;

mitted; almost every nation of Tartary trembled at, or respected his authority, and the name of the hero of Samarcand was repeated with dread even in Moscow.

Of Persia. A. D. 1380, &c.

From the Oxus to the Tigris, Persia had been in a state of disorder since the death of Abousaid, the last descendant of the great Houlacou, the destroyer of the Caliphate of Bagdad. Various independent governments presented no united body of strength. It is in Asia, as in Europe, "dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur," and the petty tyrants and emirs of Persia were trampled in the dust. But a prompt submission was honoured by reward. Ibrahim, prince of the province of Shirevan, kissed the footstool of the imperial throne. His peace offerings were of slaves, horses, silk, and jewels, composed, in deference to Tartarian respect for the number nine, of nine of the quadrupeds, and of as many of each of the two latter articles of tribute. But a critical spectator observed there were only eight slaves. "I myself am the ninth," replied Ibrahim, who was prepared for the remark; and his flattery was rewarded by the smile of Timour, and his confirmation in the principality of Shirevan.* The island and commercial city of Ormuz, on the Persian Gulph,

* De Guignes, tom. v, p. 23.

CHAP. IV. Gulph, followed the fate of the empire, while the cities of Aleppo, Damascus, Bagdad, and every town on the shores of the Tigris and Euphrates, paid a tribute of their blood and treasure.

And of Syria, A. D. 1400.

Timour's victory over Bajazet.

The conquest of Bajazet was worthy the military genius of Tamerlane. Between two jealous and haughty neighbours, motives of quarrel will seldom be wanting. The Mogul and Othman conquests now touched in the neighbourhood of Erzeroum and the Euphrates, nor had the doubtful limit been ascertained by time or treaty. Each of these ambitious monarchs might speciously accuse his rival of violations of territory; of threatening his vassals, or protecting his rebels; and by the name of rebels, each understood the fugitive princes, whose kingdoms he had usurped, and whose life or liberty he implacably pursued. Disturbances on the confines
A. D. 1400. of Georgia and Anatolia produced a correspondence between the two monarchs. The first epistle of the Mogul Emperor, far from reconciling, must have provoked the Turkish Sultan, whose family and nation it affected to despise. "Dost thou not know, that the greatest part "of Asia is subject to our arms and our laws? "That our invincible forces extend from one "sea to another? That the potentates of the "earth form a line before our gate, and that

"we

" we have compelled fortune herself to watch CHAP. IV.
" over the prosperity of our empire? What is
" the foundation of thy insolence and folly?
" Thou hast fought some battles in the woods
" of Anatolia; contemptible trophies! Thou
" hast obtained some victories over the Chris-
" tians of Europe; thy sword was blessed by
" the Apostle of God; and thy obedience to
" the precepts of the Koran, in waging war
" against the infidels, is the sole consideration
" that prevents us from destroying thy country,
" the frontier and bulwark of the Moslem
" world. Be wise in time; reflect, repent,
" and avert the thunder of our vengeance,
" which is yet suspended over thy head." In his replies, Bajazet poured forth the indignation of a soul, which was deeply stung by such savage insults. After retorting the basest reproaches on the thief of the desert, the Othman recapitulates his boasted victories in Iran, Touran, and the Indies; and labours to prove, that Timour had never triumphed, unless by his own perfidy and the vices of his foes. " Thy ar-
" mies are innumerable; be they so: but what
" are the arrows of flying Tartars against the
" scymitars and battle-axes of my firm and in-
" vincible Janizaries? I will guard the princes
" who have implored my protection: seek them
" in my tents. The cities of Arzingin and Er-

" zeroum

CHAP. IV.

" zeroum are mine, and unless the tribute be " duly paid, I will demand the arrears under " the walls of Tauris and Sultania."

For two years, the conquest of Syria by Timour, and the siege of the Christians in Constantinople by Bajazet, suspended the dreadful conflict. Four hundred thousand soldiers of the Othman were at length arrayed near the ruins of Suvas. Timour moved from the Araxes through the countries of Armenia and Anatolia; his boldness was rendered conduct by the wisest precautions; his speed was guided by order and discipline; and the woods, the mountains, and the rivers, were diligently explored by the flying squadrons, who marked his road and preceded his standard. Firm in his plan of fighting in the heart of the Othman kingdom, he avoided their camp, dextrously inclined to the left, occupied Cæsarea, traversed the Salt Desert, crossed the river Halys, and invested Angora: while the Sultan, immoveable and ignorant in his post, compared the Tartar swiftness to the crawling of a snail. But on learning his fatal error, he returned on the wings of indignation to the relief of the invested city: and as both generals were alike impatient for action, the surrounding plains became the scene of a battle, which has immortalized the glory of Timour, and

Battle of Angora. A. D. 1402, July.

and the shame of Bajazet.* In the heat of the conflict, the Tartarian troops in the army of Bajazet went over to Timour, and the faithful Janizaries could not alone withstand the torrent of Moguls. The Othman armies were routed, and the person of Bajazet, and the kingdom of Anatolia, were the fruits of the victory to Timour. CHAP. IV.

Timour's treatment of Bajazet.

Nine months intervened from the capture of the Othman Sultan to the day of his death. Whether the Mogul emperor's treatment of him was magnanimous or barbarous, has been long a controverted point. In the life of Timour, drawn from his own memorials, and published twenty years after his death, by Sherefeddin the Persian historian, Timour's behaviour to his prisoner is stated to have been generous and noble. Almost all other histories of Timour are mere transfusions of the text of Sherefeddin, an historian whose work is a laboured panegyric of its hero. The greatest part of this performance was composed under the inspection of Tamerlane himself, and received only the polish of language from the pen of Sherefeddin. Another original source of Tamerlane's biography is an Arabic work, in which he is severely cen-

* Gibbon, ch. 65, and those two learned Frenchmen, De Guignes and D'Herbelot.

CHAP. IV. sured upon every occasion. D'Herbelot rejects the tale of the iron cage, adducing as his reason, the silence in this respect of the Arabian historian, who never omits an opportunity of debasing the moral character of his hero. But Sir William Jones assures us (Works, vol. 5, p. 547), that the learned Frenchman did not examine the subject with accuracy, for in the thirteenth line of the two hundred and sixty-eighth page, the Arabian expressly affirms, that the Tartarian prince inclosed his captive in a cage of iron, in order to retaliate the insults offered to the Persians by a sovereign of the Lower Asia, who had treated Shapor, king of Persia, in the same manner. The Turkish historians too, the enemies of Timour, mention the circumstance of the cage.* Fables indeed are in these historians very much intermingled with facts, and we are often compelled to call to mind the beautiful remark of Sir W. Jones, that, "while the "abstract sciences are all truth, and the fine "arts all fiction, we cannot but own, that, in "the details of history, truth and fiction are "so blended as to be scarce distinguishable." Yet in the present case, the narrative of these annals may be considered faithful, as it derogates so

* Cant p. 55, Pocock. Proleg. ad Abul-Pharajii, Dynast. p. 45.

so materially from their hero Bajazet. Poggius the Italian, who flourished in the fifteenth century, and therefore almost contemporaneous with Timour, relates in his celebrated Dialogue, "de Varietate Fortunæ," the unhappy termination in an iron cage of Bajazet's life of glory;* and indeed there is scarcely a writer of the events of the time (except the Persian historians, who are mere copyists of Sherefeddin) who does not mention the fact. CHAP. IV.

Death of Timour. A. D. 1405, April.

At the age of seventy, Timour meditated in his palace at Samarcand the conquest of China. The family of Zingis Khan had been deprived of the sovereignty, and the Moguls were unanimous in seconding the wish of their chief, for retaliation and revenge. Two hundred thousand horsemen were chosen to quell the rebellion and revolt. The passage of the Jaxartes was effected in the depth of winter; but in the field of Otrar, three hundred miles from Samarcand, a fever, and the indiscreet use of iced water, closed the life of Timour, and saved China from desolation.†

* Regem ipsum, ducentis millibus hominum interfectis, vivum cepit (Tamerlanus) caveaque in modum feræ inclusum, per omnem Asiam circumtulit, egregium admirandumque spectaculum fortunæ. Poggius, de Varietate Fortunæ, p. 36.

† Petit de la Croix, Hist. de Timur Bec, tom. 4, ch. 27.

CHAP. IV.

Comparative view of the characters of Zingis and Timour.

In reviewing the change of political dominion, and the destruction of social life, which the conquests of Zingis and Timour created, the mind is restless and discontented with a mere detail of the battles, which these destroyers fought, and the cities which they plundered. The dominion of Timour embraced an extent of territory far greater than the provinces pillaged by Zingis; the empire of Timour, reaching as it did from the Irtish and Volga to the Persian gulph, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago, fell with its founder. But the sons and successors of Zingis maintained and enlarged their inheritance. The great qualities of the warrior dwelt in both these Tartarian heroes. Courage unrelaxed by prosperity and invincible by misfortune, minds fertile in resources and undeviating from their march of ambition, presented fair claims to the conquest of the world. When once the banner of war was unfurled, Timour was inexorable in his purpose of destruction. The fourth law of Zingis declares that peace should not be granted, unless to a suppliant enemy. The book of nature alone was open to both barbarians, since neither could read or write. Zingis knew the Mogul dialect alone, but Timour spoke the Persian and Turkish languages with fluency, and delighted in the conversation

conversation of the learned.* When the city of Shiraz submitted to his arms, he commanded Hafiz, the celebrated Persian poet, to appear before him. In pleasant allusion to a most beautiful stanza, he inquired by what right the author had declared, he would give the royal cities of Bokhara and Samarcand for a mole on the cheek of his mistress? "Can the gifts of "Hafiz ever impoverish Timour?" was the reply of the Anacreon of Persia; and the Prince of Scythia, touched by the elegance of the compliment, rewarded him with protection. In the city of Karakorum, Zingis and his successors partook of the simple fare of Scythian huntsmen, the roasted sheep and the milk of the cow or mare, and at the same time distributed to their soldiers the gold and silver of the subjugated nations. In Timour's palace at Samarcand, sometimes were seen the Scythian festivities of Attila and Zingis; at other times the richness and magnificence of the Othman court. In his pauses from the great work of destruction, he invited to Samarcand the professors of the elegant arts, who exhausted their genius in embel-

 lishing

* Sir W. Jones's Dissertation on the Tartars. He has amply proved, in opposition to Major Davy and Professor White, that the Institutes of Timour were not written by the emperor, but by his secretary Hindu Shah.

CHAP. IV. lishing a city in the wilds and deserts of Tartary.* At the court of the successors of Zingis, ambassadors from the princes of Europe and Asia deprecated the vengeance of the great Khan, and the fate of the representative of St. Peter was decided in a town on the northern borders of China. Round the throne of Samarcand were assembled the ministers of the trembling kings of Russia, Tartary, India, Egypt, and Arabia; and the present of tapestry from Henry III. king of Castile, exceeded in elegance and beauty the works of Asiatic artists on the silk of Artena.† In the code of laws of Zingis, we may admire the care that is taken to preserve the public peace, by confining the election of the Khan to the princes of the royal family and the chiefs of the tribes; and the savages of Scythia were held in social order, by the dread of the punishment of death on commission of the crimes of murder, adultery, rape, perjury, and the theft of an horse or ox. In the intervals of war, Timour redressed the complaints of the aggrieved, removed oppressive governors, and commissioned the doctors of the law and church into all the provinces of his empire, to distribute the blessings of his justice and beneficence.

* P. de la Croix, liv. 3, ch. 71, liv. 6, ch. 24.

† P. de la Croix, liv. 6, ch. 24, and Mariana, Hist. Hisp. lib. 19, ch. 11, tom. 2, p. 329, et seq.

cence.* The religion of Zingis was the purest deism, yet the Christians, the Jews, the Muhammedans, and the Idolators, preached and prayed in undisturbed security; and exemption from taxes and war distinguished the Rabbi, the Imam, and the Priest.† Timour was a Muselman of the sect of Ali; his scrupulous attention to the external rites of his religion, and his habit of retirement for purposes of devotion, made him respected by the people as an instrument of Providence.‡ In honour of the God of battles who had overthrown the idolatrous nations of Scythia, Timour built a magnificent mosque in Samarcand. In the course of an audience, with which in Aleppo he honoured the Sonnite doctors of the mosque, he inquired who were the truest martyrs, the followers of Muhammed or the disciples of Ali? A dexterous casuist avoided the question, by replying in the language of the Koran, that the motive, not the ensign, constitutes the martyr, and that the Moslems of either party, who fight only for the glory of God, may deserve that

* De Guignes, tom. 4, p. 72. P. de la Croix, liv. 3, ch. 65, liv. 6, ch. 10, and Timour's Institutes, passim—a book worthy the study of the philosopher, the statesman, and the soldier.

† De Guignes, tom. 4, p. 72.

‡ D'Ohsson. Tab. Gén. tom. 1, p. 365.

CHAP. IV. sacred appellation. He affected that his religious zeal was shocked at the devotion to pleasures of the emirs of Syria, and at their neglect of honours due to the dead. A mausoleum of marble, adorned with sculptures, was immediately raised in Damascus over the tombs of the holy wives of the Prophet.* So dreadful were the massacres and cruelties of Zingis, that the historian eagerly casts over this part of his subject the pall of oblivion, and leaves it to the general conception of his readers. "You behold me here," exclamed Timour to the prostrate citizens of Damascus, "a poor, lame, decrepid mortal. I am not a man of blood, and "God knows that in all my wars I have never "been the aggressor." Millions of miserable victims, however, were sacrificed at his command, and every great city of the East felt for years the loss of population. Human bodies, curiously piled to an immense height, marked the progress of his conquests; and two several pyramids on the road to Delhi, of one hundred thousand, and on the ruins of the venerable city of Bagdad of ninety thousand heads, gratified his unnatural ferocity. The indignation of the Persians against these invaders, occasioned the murder of a few Moguls in the streets of Ispahan. But

* P. de la Croix, liv. 4, ch. 34, liv. 5, ch. 27.

But the conquered people repented their imperfect submission, and the skulls of seventy thousand Persians were piled in the form of towers, in the principal squares of the city.* CHAP. IV.

IV. THE SELJUKIAN DYNASTIES.

The lords of a great part of Asia which lies between the Indus and the Bosphorus, the conquerors of the Gaznavide empire both in Tartary and in Persia, proceeded originally from the nation which dwells in the Khozzer or Khozzez plains, at the north-east of the Caspian sea. They were called Turks or Turkmans, and their first important emigration took place in the tenth century. The counsels of the monarch were guided by the talents of his emir, Vekauk. On the death of the minister, his son Seljuk headed the armies of the sovereign. But the too anxious curiosity of the general into the secrets of the harem and of the nursery of the royal children, provoked the indignation of the Princesses, and the anger of a woman caused the rise and fall of empires. Stimulated by one of his most favoured wives, the king withdrew his countenance from Seljuk, and the injured officer, with his family and friends, fled from the court into the territories adjacent to Samarcand. These Tartars, like most others of A. D. 1038-1092.

* P. de la Croix, liv. 2, ch. 53, liv. 4, ch. 18.

CHAP. IV.

of their nation in their emigrations to the south, embraced, whether from the conviction of the understanding, or from motives of ambition, the Muhammedan religion. The followers of Seljuk increased, his residence became the asylum for the fugitives from all the neighbouring kingdoms, and the peculiar characters of different races of men were lost in the common desire of conquest and of plunder.

Reign of Togrol, A. D. 1038–1063.

The ambitious projects of Seljuk died not with him. The wars which his two grandsons, Togrol Bec and Techegher Bec, maintained with the princes of Transoxiana, extended the renown of their prowess to the remotest limits of the east. The Sultan Mahmud of Gazna, instigated by fear or curiosity, expressed a desire to know the strength of their armies and resources. Israel, a son of Seljuk, and uncle of the young princes, experienced a distinguished and honourable reception at the Sultan's court. On this occasion, placing the illustrious stranger near him on the throne, Mahmud demanded, in the event that an emergency might arise in which he should require it, what number of cavalry the Seljukian princes could send to his assistance. Israel, who had a couple of arrows in the quiver suspended to his shoulder, laid one of them before the monarch, and told him, that if he transmitted that arrow to the residence

residence of his tribe, his orders would be attended by one hundred thousand horse. "And "if that number," continued Mahmud, "should "not be sufficient?" "This," replied the son of Seljuk, placing the second arrow in the Sultan's hands, "will bring fifty thousand more to thy "support." "But," said the Gaznavide, dissembling his anxiety, "if I should stand in "need of the whole force of your kindred "tribes?" The Seljukian laid his quiver on the footstool of the throne, with the assurance to the Sultan, that if he sent that last article of his equipment into Turkestan, the summons would be obeyed by a cavalry of two hundred thousand. The possibility of preserving friendship with so potent a neighbour was an object of apprehension, and the Sultan, in the impatience of his vexation at the news of the existence of such a multitudinous force, commanded the perpetual imprisonment of his unoffending guest. CHAP. IV.

The power of Mahmud was so transcendent, that the Turkmans dissembled their desire of revenge. His son and successor Massoud too long neglected the advice of his wisest Emirs. "Your enemies," they repeatedly urged, "were "in their origin a swarm of ants, they are now "little snakes, and unless they be instantly "crushed, they will acquire the venom and "magnitude

CHAP. IV.

" magnitude of serpents." Alarmed, however, at their repeated passages of the Oxus and descents into Korasan, the Sultan warned them not to appear again within the range of his authority. But an ambitious foe can never be repulsed by threats. After some alternatives of truce and hostility, and the repulse or partial success of the lieutenants of the Sultan, the battle on the field of Zendecan, a village near Meru, the town celebrated for cotton, decided the pretensions of the Turkmans and Gaznavides. " Maşsoud," says the Persian historian Ferdourshi, " turning his horse to that part of " the plain where he beheld the torrent of " gleaming arms rolling on, plunged singly to " oppose the stream, and exhibited such acts " of gigantic force and valour as never king " had before displayed. A few of his friends " roused by his words and actions, and that " innate honour which inspires the brave, se- " conded their lord so well, that wheresoever " he turned his fatal sword, the enemy was " annihilated, or retreated before him. But " now, when victory seemed to blow on his " standard, misfortune was active behind it; " for when he looked round, he beheld almost " his whole army, excepting that body he com- " manded in person, devouring the paths of " flight." The memorable day of Zendecan founded

Defeat of the Gaznavides, and the subjugation of Persia, A. D. 1038.

founded in Persia the dynasty of the shepherd kings of Tartary. The conquering Turkman immediately entered the ancient city of Nischabour, publicly assumed the sovereign dignity, and introduced his own name and titles into the coinage of the country, and into the Khotbah, or public prayer of the Mosque.*

The death of the Sultan Massoud soon succeeded. The city of Balk and the province of Korasm were overrun by the Turkmans, and the whole of Persian Irak was subdued. The Commander of the Faithful at Bagdad had sunk under the tyranny of the Bowides, the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt, and of the Emirs of Syria. The strong arm of power was requisite for the protection of the capital of the Moslem world, and the piety of a prince, who shewed that his respect for religion exceeded his love of magnificence, by erecting in all the cities which he conquered a temple to the honour of the God of the Muselmans, before he laid the foundations of a palace for royalty, induced the Caliph Cayem to nominate Togrol his temporal vicegerent over the dominions of Islamism. The Persian Sultan marched his armies into Syria, and established the Caliph in the enjoyment of the

The Seljuk Turks support the Caliph of Bagdad. A. D. 1055.

Togrol appointed vicegerent of the Moslem world.

* D'Herbelot, tom. 3. p. 293. Price, vol. 2. ch. 8. Dow's Hindustan, vol. 1. part 2. sec. 6.

CHAP. IV. the honours of his station. The greatest event in the temporal history of the Christian church, namely, the Pope's investiture of Charlemagne with the dignities of the Emperor of the West and Protector of the Church, has its parallel in this period of Muhammedan annals. Togrol embarked on the Tigris, landed at the gate of Racca, and made his public entry into Bagdad on horseback. At the steps of the palace he dismounted, and walked into the audience chamber, accompanied by his Emirs without arms. The Caliph was seated behind his black veil: on his shoulders hung the sable garment of the Abassides, and in his hand was the staff of Muhammed. On approaching the throne, the Sultan of the Turkmans kissed the floor, remained some time in a posture of respect, and then walked to the Caliph, followed by a vizier and an interpreter. After Togrol had seated himself on another throne, the appointed officer read to him the public act, by which the Pope of Asia recognized him as master of the Moslem states, and governor of all the Muselmans. The principal compliment of Asiatic respect, the frequent change of garments, was paid to Togrol. With seven robes of honour he was successively cloathed, and he was presented with seven slaves, the natives of the seven countries of the empire of the Caliphs. On his head was placed a veil

veil perfumed with musk, and two crowns, emblems of the power with which he was invested over Arabia and Persia. The Caliph then girded to his side a sword magnificently adorned. The Sultan was prevented from prostrating himself a second time, but he twice kissed the hands of the Commander of the Faithful. Another sword was given to him by the Caliph; and his investiture was concluded, by the voice of the heralds proclaiming him king of the east and of the west.* The marriage of Togrol's sister to the Caliph, and the introduction of the Sultan's name into the public prayers, cemented the union. But the subsequent departure of Togrol from Bagdad to Persia, was the signal for the rebellion of the Caliph's subjects. The Commander of the Faithful was driven from his capital, and the name of Mostanser Billah, the Fatimite Caliph of Egypt, was introduced into the public worship. The family of the Abbassides were compelled to confess, that all the qualities necessary for the supreme Muhammedan Pontiff were to be found in Mostanser: but in a second visit to Bagdad, the Persian Sultan again rescued the Caliph Cayem from the hands of his enemies; and devoutly on foot led his mule by the bridle from the prison to the palace.† CHAP. IV.

The

* De Guignes, liv. 10. † Ibid.

CHAP. IV.

The Scythian prince aspired to the honour of marriage with a daughter of the successor of the Apostle of God; but the pride of birth and of dignity opposed the match. Remonstrances and replies succeeded. The Sultan at length poured into his own treasury the revenues of the Caliphate; and the proud lord of Islamism yielded to the wishes of his rebellious subject. The contract was made at Tauris. The celebration of the marriage at Bagdad was quickly followed by the death of Togrol; and his public character as a prince is well defined in the expression of the Saracenian historian: "rex To-"grolbrecus fuit clemens, prudens, et peritus "regnandi, cujus terror corda mortalium inva-"serat ita ut obedirent ei reges atque ad ipsum "scriberent." *

His Death.

A. D. 1063. Reign of Alp Arslan.

Alp Arslan, his nephew, succeeded to the dominion over the country between the Jihon and the Tigris. The subjugation of the kingdom of Jund, in Transoxiana, was one of the first acts of ambition of this descendant of Seljuk. But his war with the Greek Emperor is peculiarly deserving of attention. Incursions of a predatory nature, transient though destructive, had been made by the Turks in the reign of Togrol into Georgia and Armenia, but the entire conquest

War with the Greek Empire.

* Elmacin, Hist. Saracen, p 342. vers Erpinii.

quest of these countries was achieved by his nephew. The kingdom of Armenia was annihilated, and the effeminate Christians of Georgia exchanged their golden collars and bracelets for an ignominious band of iron. The Roman Emperor Diogenes was resolved to drive these Scythian savages from his states. In three successive campaigns, many of the dismembered Grecian provinces were restored to the parent stock. Alarmed, at length, for the safety of his own hereditary dominions, Alp Arslan took from his Emirs the charge which their cowardice and supineness had disgraced, and with thirty or forty thousand horsemen, marched into Armenia, against the very superior forces of Diogenes. The Emperor had the imprudence to break his army into various detachments, and the defeat of Basilicus, one of his principal generals, and the desertion of the Uzi, a Moldavian horde, presaged his final ruin. These disasters diminished not the contempt of Diogenes for his enemy. He might have retreated with honour, for the Sultan offered him advantageous terms of peace: but persuaded that this measure of Alp Arslan had been prompted by fear, he dismissed the envoy with the reply, that if the barbarian desired peace, he must evacuate his present position, and surrender his city and palace of Rhei (the capital of the Seljukian mo-

CHAP. IV. A.D. 1068.

CHAP. IV.

Defeat and capture of the Greek emperor Diogenes. A. D. 1071.

narchy) as a pledge of his sincerity. The Sultan, irritated at this insult, prepared for battle. The day was the Sabbath of the Muselmans, and in the public prayers, he shed some tears for the blood of the Moslems who must be slain in the approaching conflict. He proclaimed permission to all who wished to leave the camp; he threw aside his bow and his arrows, took his sword and his mace, and tied up his horse's tail.* He clothed himself in a robe of white, and exclaimed, that if he were conquered that place should be his tomb. The solid phalanx of the Greeks penetrated the Turkish cavalry, but the Emperor's camp was not fortified, and he apprehended the predatory attacks of the flying squadrons of horse, who had avoided the shock of his charges. The troops near the Emperor retired with steadiness, but the distant parts of his army, ignorant of the motives of the retreat which was sounded, fled in confusion. Andronicus, a prince of the royal family of Constantinople, but an enemy of Diogenes, encouraged the disorder. The Turks poured a cloud of arrows on their foe in this moment of confusion and lassitude, and the horns of their formidable crescent were closed in the rear of the Greeks. The Emperor defended

* The benevolent laws of Muhammed forbid the cutting off the hair of horses. Mischat ul Masabih. vol. 2, p. 252.

fended himself with desperate courage, till he was oppressed and bound by the strength of multitudes. The glory of this illustrious prize was disputed by a slave and a soldier; a slave, who had seen him on the throne of Constantinople, and a soldier of such extreme deformity, that at a general muster of the troops on the morning of the battle, he would have been refused admission on the roll, if one of the Sultan's lieutenants had not, seriously or jocularly, prophesied that the Emperor would fall into his hands. Alp Arslan could scarcely believe the reality of his good fortune, but the identity of the Emperor's person was ascertained by the recollections of some Turks who had been ambassadors at Constantinople, and by the more pathetic evidence of Basilicus, who embraced with tears the feet of his unhappy sovereign. CHAP. IV.

Magnanimity of Alp Arslan to Diogenes.

Whether or not the Turkish Sultan omitted the practice of his nation, of placing the foot on the neck of the royal captive, is a point on which the Greek and the Arab historians disagree, but they are unanimous, that Alp Arslan descended from his horse, and thrice clasping the Emperor's hand with tender sympathy, assured him that his life and dignity should be inviolate in the hands of a prince, who had learned to respect the majesty of his equals, and the vicissitudes of fortune. In a free and

CHAP. IV. familiar communication of eight days, not a word, not a look of insult, escaped from the conqueror; but he severely censured the unworthy subjects who had deserted their valiant prince in the hour of danger, and gently admonished his antagonist of some errors which he had committed in the management of the war. In the preliminaries of negotiation, Alp Arslan asked him, what treatment he expected to receive, and the calm indifference of the Emperor displayed the freedom of his mind. "If you "are cruel," said he, "you will take my life; "if you listen to pride, you will drag me at "your chariot wheels; if you consult your in- "terest, you will accept a ransom, and restore "me to my country." "And what," continued the Sultan, "would have been your own "behaviour, had fortune smiled on your arms?" The reply of the Greek betrays a sentiment, which prudence, and even gratitude, should have taught him to suppress. "Had I van- "quished," he fiercely said, "I would have "inflicted on thy body many a stripe." The Turkish conqueror smiled at the insolence of his captive; observed that the Christian law inculcates the love of enemies, and forgiveness of injuries; and nobly declared, that he would not imitate an example which he condemned. The marriage of the Emperor's daughter to Malek Shah,

Shah, the son of Alp Arslan, the payment of a million of pieces of gold, and the return of all the Moslems in the power of the Greeks, were the terms of liberty and peace. CHAP. IV.

After the signature of this treaty, the Emperor received all the honours of royalty. The Sultan seated him on a throne, presented to him gold for the expenses of his journey to Constantinople, restored to him several of the noble captives, and clothed them with robes of honour. But the ill fortune of Diogenes rendered fruitless the generosity of his conqueror. The dastard Greeks had disclaimed their allegiance to a captive, and placed another member of the royal family on the throne. Two hundred pieces of gold were with difficulty collected, and sent to the Sultan, as the only payment which the fallen majesty of Diogenes could enable him to make. On his journey to Constantinople he was ignominiously treated, and imprisoned in a monastery till the day of his death, by the King of Armenia, a former dependent on the bounty of the Cæsars, and for the defence of whose dominions, Diogenes had engaged in hostilities against the Turkish Monarch.

The Sultan Alp Arslan had contributed his portion to the prosperity of the house of Seljuk. The fairest part of Asia was subject to his laws: twelve hundred kings or chiefs stood before

CHAP. IV. his throne, and two hundred thousand soldiers marched under his banners. The complete subjugation of Turkestan, the original seat of the Seljukian dynasty, was now the noble object of Alp Arslan's ambition. The war with the Greeks was concluded, and his name at the capital of Islamism, as the vicegerent of the Caliph, was respected with silence and submission by the proud Emirs of Syria. From Bagdad he moved to the Oxus, and twenty days were consumed in passing his army over a bridge to the northern banks of the river. The possession of a castle called Berzem was necessary for the Sultan. The owner and governor, Joseph the Korasmian, defended it with a valour that could only be subdued by hosts of enemies; but the castle was razed, and the governor was produced as a prisoner before the Sultan and his assembled army. Alp Arslan, irritated at his long resistance, severely reproached his obstinacy, and the passionate replies of the governor policy would condemn. When the sentence was pronounced of exposition to death upon four sharpened stakes, the desperate Korasmian drew a dagger from his boot, and rushed towards the throne. The Sultan checked the ardour of the guards, whose battle-axes were uplifted to defend him. In reliance on his own remarkable skill in archery, he shot an arrow from his bow, but his foot

His expedition into Turkestan.

A. D. 1072.

foot slipped; the royal shaft, which hitherto had never erred, now flew wide of its object, and the Sultan received in his heart the dagger of Joseph, who passed unmolested through the ranks of the astonished soldiers, but was afterwards slain by an inferior attendant of the camp. The last words of Alp Arslan present a fine moral lesson to kings. "I this day," said he to his surrounding friends, "recollect, that in my youth I was "advised by a sage to humble myself before "God, to distrust mine own strength, and "never to despise a foe, however contemptible "might be his appearance. I have neglected "this advice amidst the prudence and gravity "of my age, and my neglect has been severely "punished. Yesterday, the number and power "of my armies raised me to an eminence, loftier "than that of any Asiatic potentate; to day in "the confidence of mine own personal address, "I have fallen by the hands of an assassin. "Kingly power, personal strength, and skill, "can in vain be opposed to the decrees of des-"tiny, and I perish for my presumption." The sepulchre of the Seljukian dynasty at Meru in Korasan received his ashes, and the inscription on the tomb warned the traveller of the instability of human greatness. "You, WHO HAVE "SEEN THE GRANDEUR OF ALP ARSLAN RAISED

Death of Alp Arslan. A.D. 1072.

CHAP. IV. " TO THE HEAVENS, REPAIR TO MERU, AND YOU " WILL BEHOLD IT BURIED IN THE DUST."

The appellation, Alp Arslan, which signified in the Tartar language, the great lion, correctly designated the Turkish Sultan. In his wars, he displayed the fierceness, and in his clemency to Diogenes, the generosity of the royal animal. Nature had gifted him with a formidable exterior, which was rendered more imposing, by a beard of singular growth and thickness, and a tiara of such extraordinary height, that the length from the apex of his coronet to the point of his beard, measured four feet. To the courage of a Turk, he joined the zeal and devotion of a Muselman. By his justice and liberality he acquired the esteem and love of mankind. While he was extending the limits of his dominion, his minister, Nedham-il-Moulk, so highly celebrated in Asiatic histories, enlarged those of the human mind. He became the protector of the learned, and founded colleges in the great cities of Syria and Persia, where the name of Alp Arslan was heard with reverence and submission.*

His character.

In

Remarks on De Guignes and D'Herbelot.

* For this account of Alp Arslan, I have consulted Elmacin, Hist. Saracen, and Mr. Gibbon's History. But I did not commit a sentence to paper, without considering what had been written on the subject by De Guignes and D'Herbelot.

CHAP. IV.

Reign of Malek Shah. A. D. 1072–1092.

In a moment of victory, when all hearts were devoted to his service, Alp Arslan had obtained from his Emirs their pledge of allegiance to his youngest son, Malek Shah, as the immediate successor to his dominions. On the death of the sovereign, the influence of his Vizier secured the fidelity of his nobles, and Malek Shah, at the head of the armies, was proclaimed Sultan, and accepted from the legates of the Caliph, the

belot. I can truly say with Mr. Gibbon, that "without "these two learned Frenchmen I should be blind indeed "in the Eastern world." For the reign of Malek Shah, I am solely indebted to De Guignes and D'Herbelot. The former of these historians possessed all the industry of the latter, and far greater accuracy. Whenever they differed in a point of history, I always found the statement of De Guignes more satisfactory than that of D'Herbelot. The general merit of the Bibliothèque Orientale, is acknowledged on all hands. Yet who does not wish to expunge the repetitions and superfluities? The alphabetical arrangement can never be endured. Reiske's opinion is a judicious one, "Congessit illuc eruditissimus iste Francus insignium "quorumque casuum et optimarum rerum ex præstantissi-"mis scriptoribus farraginem, quam ipsis eorum verbis "apponit. Dolendum, quod res gestas non ordine tempo-"rum perscripserit, sed discerpserit cohærentes, ut vix pos-"sit inde continuata historiæ orientalis notitia comparari. "Quod ipse sibi passim contradicat, id condonandum viro "præclaro. Ex aliis atque aliis tradebat auctoribus, et "obrutus rerum multitudine non poterat omnia simul animo "habere præsentia, non poterat non labi." J. J. Reiske, "p. 227 of Abulfeda's Syria. vers. Koehler, 4to. Lipsæ, "1766.

CHAP. IV. the investiture of his office of Protector of the Muhammedan Religion, and the title, until that time never applied to any Moslem prince, of Commander of the Faithful. But the voice of the people, and the approbation of the Pontiff, could not prevent rebellion. Cadered, the uncle of the Sultan, and governor of the province of Kerman, unfurled the standard of revolt, and appeared in considerable force in Kurge. Commanding the veteran troops of Korasan, who had immortalised the name of his father, Malek Shah, in one of the most sanguinary battles which the Persian historians have recorded, established his own reputation, and took the person of his antagonist. But the veterans, in arrogance of their power, murmured at the smallness of their pay, and threatened to release the captive prince and place him on the throne. In the dark councils of an Eastern court, the dagger of the assassin is more efficacious than the arts of the politician. The murder of his uncle was easily performed by Malek Shah, and the soldiers returned to their allegiance.

Extent of his power.

This Turkish Sultan was the greatest prince of his age. Persia was his, the emirs of Syria paid their submission of tribute and respect, and the appearance of the governor of Transoxiana, as a prisoner, at Ispahan, the metropolis of the Seljuk princes, and the Sultan's name

on

on the coins of Kashgar, shewed the extent of the power of Malek Shah in Tartary. Daily prayers were offered for his health in Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Bagdad, Rhei, Ispahan, Samarcand, Bokharah, and Kashgar. But the reign of this sovereign is interesting to the philosopher, as well as to the historian of blood. From a detail of the changes of empires, we turn with pleasure to illustrations of life and character. In the exercise of hunting he dissipated the cares of government; forty-seven thousand horses formed his train, and for every beast which was slain by his own hand, he recompensed the owner. In twelve journies he encompassed twelve times the whole of his vast territories, dispensed the benefits of justice, and shewed himself the father of his people. The pious Muselman, in his pilgrimage to Mecca, blessed the Sultan's name, for the places for relief and refreshment which cheered the Arabian desert, and the afflictions of human nature were soothed and mitigated by the hospitals and asylums which he built. Under his patronage the astronomers of the east engaged in the reformation of the calendar. From the days of Muhammed the lunar course had measured the Persian year, but the intercalation had been neglected, and the vernal equinox was removed from the sign of Aries to that of Pisces. But

CHAP. IV.

His character: character and conduct of his minister Nedham.

a new

CHAP. IV. a new æra was now introduced into Muhammedan chronology, and the Gelalæan stile* is scarcely inferior in accuracy to the Gregorian calendar. Since the brilliant days of the Caliphate of Bagdad, letters had not been encouraged by a more enlightened patron than Malek, and an hundred poets sounded his praises in the halls of his palace at Ispahan. Mosques and colleges displayed his love for religion and literature, and his useful magnificence was seen in his spacious high roads and bridges, and in the number of his artificial canals and navigations.

The magnanimity of the prince, and the flattery and address of his minister Nedham, are worthy of record. On the eve of a battle, which terminated the feeble pretensions to the throne of a brother of the Sultan, he prostrated himself, with his minister, before the tomb of the Imam Riza, at Thous. The devotions being concluded, Malek asked his faithful servant, what had been the subject of his secret petitions? "I have prayed," said the Vizier, "that your arms may be crowned with victory." "For my part," observed the disinterested Sultan, "I have implored, that the favour of God "may

* The Gelalæan stile, so called from the name Gelaleddin, or glory of the faith, one of the titles of Malek Shah. It commenced the 15th of March, A. D. 1079, A. H. 471.

" may be shewn to him, who is most worthy to CHAP. IV.
" govern the Moslems." The charge of the passage of his army across the Oxus was defrayed by orders on the revenue of Antioch. The murmur of the boatmen at this apparent evasion of their demands reached the ears of the Sovereign. " It was not to postpone " their reward that I selected those remote " places," said the flattering Vizier to his angry master, " but in order to shew to your posterity, " that under your reign, Antioch and the Oxus " were subject to the same king." The Sovereign smiled at the artful compliment, and the Vizier in secret compensated the boatmen.*

In an excursion from his camp, which was opposed to that of the Emperor of Constantinople, the fortune of war threw the Turkish Sultan into the hands of the enemy. Their illustrious prisoner was clothed with simplicity, his rank was therefore unknown to his enemies, and politically unnoticed by his friends. A fugitive from the Sultan's party told the tale to Nedham. The skill of the minister was now severely tried in averting ruin from the house of Seljuk. The usual guards were posted at the Sultan's tent, the discipline of the camp proceeded in its usual order, and the next morning Nedham appeared before the throne of the Emperor

* De Guignes, liv. 10.

CHAP. IV. peror with overtures of peace. In the course of the interview, the affair of the prisoners was mentioned by the Emperor. But the minister affected indifference to the matter, and declared his Sultan's contempt for so trifling a loss. The Emperor commanded the captives to be brought before him, and as a pledge of the sincerity of his wishes for peace, he generously delivered them to Nedham. During subsequent hostilities, the same prince of the Greeks was led as a captive into the presence of the Sultan. The courage of the Greek was unsubdued by chains, and he haughtily exclaimed, "If thou "art a king, thou wilt freely forgive the past; "if a merchant, sell me; if a butcher, put "me to death." "I am a king," replied the magnanimous Malek, and immediately commanded an honourable return for the Emperor to the throne of his dominions.* But the mental penetration of the Sultan was not equal to the fine qualities of his spirit, and the fall of Nedham was rendered bitter by the worthlessness of its cause. A wife of Malek plotted an infringement of the sacred right of primogeniture, by attempting to procure for the younger son of the Emperor, a royal declaration in favour of his pretensions to the throne, when it should become

* The accuracy of this story of D'Herbelot is questioned by De Guignes; tom. 3, p. 223, note d.

become vacant by the death of his father. The loyal Nedham frustrated her artifices, but his conduct drew upon him the malignity of a disappointed woman. The princess poisoned the ears of her husband with idle tales of the faithlessness and rapacity of his servant, and the credulous and ungrateful monarch commanded the return of the turban and inkstand, the badges of the Vizier's office. In delivering them to the messenger the veteran minister exclaimed, "It is well that I should be required "to resign power, when the wisdom of my "measures has produced the happiest results. "When the sea was agitated, Malek honoured "me with his confidence; now all is calm, and "he deigns to listen to calumny. But he will "not long be ignorant, that the eternal decrees "of Providence have connected my inkhorn "and turban with his throne and his diadem." A reply so haughty and imprudent tended not to deprecate the wrath of his sovereign. The charge of the empire was committed to a new Vizier, who secured himself in his seat, by employing the murderous hand of an assassin against the faithful minister of Alp Arslan and his son. On his death bed, Nedham lamented that a sword should cut the thread of a life, which had been extended to a period of ninety-three years, and expressed his pleasure at his going

CHAP. IV.

Death of Malek.

going to render before the God of Malek and himself an account of his actions. The remainder of the Sultan's reign was short and inglorious. Ispahan was too mean a city for his dignity, and he moved towards Bagdad, which he intended should become his capital. The pageant on the throne of Muhammed obtained a respite from his threatened exile, and before the expiration of the term, the Sultan fell a victim to his favourite passion for the chace.

Division of the Seljukian empire.

The reigns of four such successive great men, as Togrol, Seljuk, Alp Arslan, and Malek, deserved a more detailed history than the reigns of their successors merit. From the Caspian sea to Damascus, from the borders of China to the Persian gulph, the Seljukian princes would suffer no tyrants but themselves. But the greatness and unity of the Turkish empire expired in the person of Malek Shah. The vast fabric fell to the ground, and after a series of civil wars, four dynasties, contemporary, and not successive, were formed; namely, that of Persia at large; that of Kerman, a province of Persia; that of a large portion of Syria, including Aleppo and Damascus; and that of Rhoum, or Asia Minor. The existence and even the name of the first three of these dynasties soon expired, but the Seljukian kingdom of Rhoum had a longer, and more important dura-

tion.

tion. The conquest of Rhoum or Anatolia had been effected in the life of Malek, by Suliman, a prince of his family, and the generous policy of Malek allowed him to enjoy it The loss of Anatolia was the greatest misfortune which the church had sustained, since the early days of the Caliphs. The kingdom of Rhoum extended from the Euphrates to Constantinople, from the confines of Syria to the Black Sea. The Sultan fixed his residence at Nice, once the metropolis of Bithynia,* and this city, which had been so famous for its orthodoxy in the early history of the Christian church, was now polluted by the preaching of the divinity of the mission of Muhammed. A lieutenant of Malek Shah, Atsiz the Korasmian, had carried the arms of his master beyond the confines of Egypt, but the inhabitants of Cairo rallied round the Caliph, and the invader was repulsed into Syria. On their return, the Seljuks plundered Jerusalem, and a brother of the Sultan established in that city the government of the shepherd kings. But at the end of four years from the death of Malek, the Emir Ortok availed himself of the feuds of the Seljukian sovereigns, and the command of Jerusalem became hereditary

CHAP. IV.

Dynasty of Rhoum.

A. D. 1096.

* Iconium was afterwards their capital, and the Sultans of this branch of the Seljuk family have therefore been generally called Sultans of Iconium.

CHAP. IV. A. D. 1098. hereditary in his family. But the children of Ortok were dispossessed by the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt, who, in their turn, yielded to the Crusaders and fanatics of Europe. The Seljukian Sultans followed, what Mr. Gibbon calls, "the common law of the Asiatic dynasties, the "unceasing round of valour, greatness, 'dis-"cord, degeneracy, and decay:" their spirit and power were unequal to the defence of religion, and in his distant realms of Persia, the Christians were strangers to the name and the arms of Sangiar, the last hero of his race. The scattered fragments of the Seljukian empire in Tartary were collected and organized by the successors of Zingis Khan, and the territories in Syria, belonging to the various princes and Emirs of the family of Seljuk, were devastated and convulsed by the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt, the Crusaders, and the Othman Turks. The political revolutions of which the successors of Zingis Khan were the authors, have been already shewn. An accurate narrative of the Crusades (a desideratum in literature) would form a part of Christian, rather than Muhammedan history; but the subject of the rise to power of the Othman Turks is the last, and a very important link in a history of the establishment of the Muhammedan religion.

V. THE OTHMAN OR PRESENT TURKISH POWER.

Origin of the Othmans, A. D. 1240.

The obscure fathers of the Othman Turks dwelt originally at the north of the Caspian sea, on the plains of Kipjak, or Cumania, and were called Kipjaks, Oghousian, or Gozz Tartars. In the middle of the twelfth century they descended into Korasan, and finally became subject to the Sultans of that country, and formed the main strength of their armies. The defeat of Muhammed by Zingis Khan, and the subsequent retreat into India of Gelaleddin, broke, but did not destroy, the Korasmian power. In the passage of the Indus seven only of his followers escaped with Gelaleddin from the arrows of the Tartars; but the routed Turkmans soon rallied round his standard, and in two years his name was formidable in India. When Zingis and his Moguls had crossed the Jihon, Gelaleddin repassed the Indus, and received the homage of the governors and people of the Persian provinces of Fars, Irak, and Adherbigian or Media. The effeminate Georgian nations were easily conquered by his hardy Turkmans, but Octai, the immediate successor of Zingis Khan, poured his subjects into Persia, and overwhelmed the force of Gelaleddin. The Korasmian hero long bore up with exemplary fortitude against the torrent that had overwhelmed his father; but he

CHAP. IV.

was at last subdued by the vicissitudes of fortune, and from having been an object of universal love and admiration, he became one of detestation and contempt. The hero, who, by swimming the Indus after the most gallant efforts to defeat his enemies, had extorted the applause of Zingis, became in the close of life remarkable for indolence and excess; and the termination of his career was as inglorious as its commencement had been noble and heroic. He fled before a small detachment of Moguls, and took refuge in the hills in the north-west of Persia, where he was slain by a barbarian, whose brother he had before put to death. His army was dissolved, and in various bodies and on various expeditions of plunder and pillage made incursions into Armenia, Syria, and Asia Minor.* Some of these Turkmans engaged in the service of Aladdin, the Seljuk Sultan of Iconium. The Korasmian Turks, under the command of Soliman Schah, passed into Asia Minor at the commencement of the fourteenth century. It was not beneath the dignity of his son Orthogrul to become the subject and soldier of Aladdin, and with their united forces the Sultan and his captain preserved Iconium from the ravages of the Moguls.† The Seljuks of Iconium and the Korasmian

* D'Herbelot, tom. 2, p. 82-88. Malcolm's Persia, vol. 1, p. 381.

† De Guignes, tom. 5, p. 329-338.

Korasmian Tartars became one people. In history they were known by the common name of Othman Turks, and the sword and sceptre of power were transferred from the sluggard Seljukian princes to their ambitious and enterprising generals. CHAP. IV.

The son of Orthogrul was the celebrated Othman, the real founder of the Turkish greatness; and though he has been described as a shepherd and a robber, we must separate from those characters all ideas of baseness and ignominy. Othman possessed, and perhaps surpassed, the ordinary virtues of a soldier; and the circumstances of time and place were propitious to his independence and success. The Seljukian dynasty was no more; and the distance and decline of the Mogul Khans soon enfranchised him from the controul of a superior. He was situated on the verge of the Greek empire; and his religious principles sanctified his ambition.* Till the reign of Palæologus, the Emperor on the throne of Constantinople in the days of Othman, the passes of Mount Olympus had been vigilantly guarded by the militia of the country, who were repaid by their own safety, and an exemption from taxes. Reign of Othman. A. D. 1299-1326. His invasion of Bithynia.

* "Thus," as Bacon says, "the Turk hath at hand for "cause of war the propagation of his law or sect, a quar- "rel that he may always command."

CHAP. IV. From a jealous and mistaken policy the Emperor abolished their privilege, and assumed their office; but the tribute was rigorously collected, the custody of the passes was disregarded, and the hardy mountaineers degenerated into a trembling crowd of peasants, without spirit or discipline. The passage of these mountains being completed by the Turks, the fall of the cities of Nicomedia and Nice shook the power of the Greeks in Bithynia; and the capture of Prusa placed on a basis of richness and strength the power of the house of Othman. But seven and twenty years had been occupied in the inroads and victories, which terminated in the fall of Prusa. The Othmans, though active and enterprising, were not numerous, and the army of the Sultan was recruited, not like that of Zingis, from the innumerable hordes of Tartars, but from the casual resource of captives and volunteers. At the close of a life of sixty-nine years, Othman received the welcome news of the surrender of Prusa to the arms of Orchan, his son and successor in the royal dignity. The lives and possessions of the Christian subjects were redeemed by a tribute or ransom of thirty thousand crowns of gold; and the city became the metropolis of the Othman monarchy. It was decorated with a mosque, a college, and an hospital, of royal foundation; the Seljukian coin

Rise of the Othman empire.

A. D. 1326.

Reign of Orchan. 1326–1360.

coin was changed for the name and impression of the new dynasty; and the most skilful professors of human and divine knowledge attracted the Persian and Arabian students from the ancient schools of oriental learning. The office of Vizier (an office of such high importance in the Turkish government) was instituted for Aladdin, the brother of Orchan; and a different habit distinguished the citizens from the peasants, the moslems from the infidels. All the troops of Othman had consisted of loose squadrons of Turkman cavalry, who served without pay, and fought without discipline: but a regular body of infantry was now established and trained by the prudence of his son A great number of volunteers were enrolled with a small stipend, but with the permission of living at home, unless they were summoned to the field. Their rude manners and seditions disposed Orchan to educate his young captives as the soldiers of himself and of the Prophet; but the Turkish peasants were still allowed to mount on horseback and follow his standard, with the appellation and the hopes of *free-booters*. CHAP. IV.

The son of Othman subdued the whole province of Bithynia, as far as the shores of the Bosphorus and Hellespont; and by his conquest of Gallipoli in the Chersonesus, the passage

CHAP. IV. A. D. 1358. from Asia into Europe was at his command; but his marriage, so scandalous to the church and the people, with a daughter of the Greek emperor Cantacuzene, shewed the greatness of his power, and silenced for awhile the voice of his ambition. The Turkish scimitar was wielded with the same spirit by Amurath the First, the son of Orchan, and third sultan of the Othman dynasty. By the pale and uncertain light of the Byzantine annals, we can discern, that he subdued without resistance, the whole province of Romania or Thrace, from the Hellespont to Mount Hæmus, and the verge of the capital; and that Adrianople was chosen for the royal seat of his government and religion in Europe. Constantinople, whose decline is almost coeval with her foundation, had often, in the lapse of a thousand years, been assaulted by the barbarians of the east and west; but never till this fatal hour, had the Greeks been surrounded, both in Asia and in Europe, by the arms of the same hostile monarchy. Yet the prudence or generosity of Amurath postponed for a while this easy conquest, and his pride was satisfied with the frequent and humble attendance at his court and camp of the Emperor John Palæologus and his four sons. He marched against the Sclavonian nations between the Danube and the Adriatic, the Bulgarians, Servians,

And of Amurath. 1360–1389.

Servians, Bosnians, and Albanians, and these warlike tribes, who had so often insulted the majesty of the Roman empire, were repeatedly broken by his destructive inroads. Their countries did not abound in gold or silver; nor were their rustic hamlets and townships enriched by commerce, or decorated by the arts of luxury. But the natives of the soil have been distinguished in every age, by their hardiness of mind and body, and they were converted by a prudent institution into the firmest and most faithful supporters of the Othman greatness. The vizier of Amurath reminded his sovereign, that according to the Muhammedan law, he was entitled to a fifth part of the spoil and captives; and that the duty might easily be levied, if vigilant officers were stationed at Gallipoli, to watch the passage, and to select for his use, the stoutest and most beautiful of the Christian youths. The advice was followed; the edict was proclaimed; many thousands of the European captives were instructed in the Muhammedan religion, inured and trained to obedience and martial skill, by severe discipline and warlike exercises; and the new militia was consecrated and named by Haji Bektash, a dervish, celebrated for his miracles and prophecies. Standing in the front of their ranks, he stretched the sleeve of his gown over the head of the foremost

CHAP. IV.

Formation of the Janizaries. A. D. 1363.

CHAP. IV. foremost soldier, and his blessing was delivered in these words. "Let them be called Janizaries (Yengi cheri, or new soldiers)! let their countenance be ever bright! their hand victorious! their sword keen! let their spear always hang over the head of their enemies! and wheresoever they go, may they return with a white face!"* The most honourable military distinctions that the favour of the prince could confer, were employed in order to animate this body with martial ardour, and with a consciousness of its own pre-eminence. The Janizaries soon became the chief strength and pride of the Othman armies; and by their number, as well as reputation, were distinguished above all the troops, whose duty it was to attend on the person of the sultan.† Their valour has declined, their discipline is relaxed, and

* The terms white or black face are common terms of praise or dispraise among the Turks. Cantemir, p. 41, note 20.

† The number of Janizaries, at the first institution of the body, was not considerable. Under Solyman, in the year 1521, they amounted to twelve thousand. Since that time their number has greatly increased. Though Solyman possessed such abilities and authority as to restrain this formidable body within the bounds of obedience, yet its tendency to limit the power of the sultans was, even in that age, foreseen by sagacious observers. Robertson's Charles V. vol. 1, sec. 3, note 43.

and their tumultuary array is incapable of contending with the order and weapons of modern tactics; but at the time of their institution, they possessed a decisive superiority in war, since a regular body of infantry, in constant exercise and pay, was not maintained by any of the princes of Christendom. The Janizaries fought with the zeal of proselytes against their *idolatrous* countrymen; and in the battle of Cassova, the league and independence of the Sclavonian tribes was finally crushed. As the conqueror walked over the field, he observed that the greatest part of the slain consisted of beardless youths; and the reply of his vizier was gratifying to his vanity, that opposition to the invincible sword of the Othmans is more characteristic of the rashness of youth than the prudence of age. But the sword of his Janizaries could not defend him from the dagger of despair; a Servian soldier started from the heap of dead bodies stretched upon the plain, and Amurath received in the belly a mortal wound. CHAP. IV.

The character and actions of Bajazet, the son and successor of Amurath, accorded with his surname of Ilderim, or lightning. His brother Geme strove for the crown, but he soon was compelled to own the ascendency of Bajazet; and the prince, dreading that his ally, the Fatimite Caliph of Egypt, would sacrifice him as Reign of Bajazet. A.D. 1389–1403.

CHAP. IV. as a peace-offering to the victorious Sultan, fled to Rhodes, and thence, by the advice of the Grand Master, to Rome, where Alexander the Sixth entertained him with distinction in the palace of the Vatican. Instigated, however, by the bribes of Bajazet, the Pope kept the Turkish prince in a splendid captivity, and at length consented to, or procured his destruction. In the fourteen years of his reign, Bajazet moved at the head of his armies from Boursa to Adrianople, from the Danube to the Euphrates; and though he strenuously laboured for the propagation of the Koran, he invaded, with impartial ambition, the Muhammedan dominions in Asia Minor, and the Christian territories in Europe. The Turkish historians have dignified every prince of the Othman dynasty with the title of Sultan. But in truth it was not used till the days of Bajazet. The humble title of Emir was no longer suitable to the Othman greatness; and Bajazet condescended to accept a patent of Sultan of Romania, Greece, and Thrace, from the Caliphs who served in Egypt under the yoke of the Mamlouks: a last and frivolous homage that was yielded by force to opinion, by the Turkish conquerors to the house of Abbas and the successors of the Arabian Prophet. The ambition of the Sultan was inflamed by the obligation of deserving this august title, and he turned

turned his arms against the kingdom of Hungary. The cause of the Hungarians was that of Europe and of the church: the bravest knights of France and Germany marched under the standard of Sigismond and the cross; but in the battle of Nicopolis, Bajazet defeated a confederate army of an hundred thousand Christians, who had proudly boasted, that if the sky should fall, they could uphold it on their lances. The far greater part were slain or driven into the Danube; and the Hungarian prince, escaping to Constantinople by the river and the Black Sea, returned, after a long circuit, to his exhausted kingdom. In the pride of victory, Bajazet threatened that he would besiege Buda; that he would subdue the adjacent countries of Germany and Italy; and would feed his horse with a bushel of oats on the altar of St. Peter at Rome. "His progress was checked," says Mr. Gibbon, "not by the miraculous interposition "of the apostle, not by a crusade of the Chris- "tian powers, but by a long and painful fit of "the gout. The disorders of the moral, are "sometimes corrected by those of the physical "world; and an acrimonious humour falling "on a single fibre of one man, may prevent, or "suspend, the misery of nations." Yet with the recovery of his health, his ambition revived. The papal empire, though a splendid, was a re-

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 1396.

mote

CHAP. IV.

mote conquest; but the richness and grandeur of the city of Constantinople were always present to his mental vision. His ambition aspired to the overthrow of the sacred city, but yielded to the politic remonstrance of his Vizier, not to provoke the indignation of Europe by an attack upon the metropolis of the eastern church. The ambassadors of the Turk terrified, however, Palæologus into the payment of a tribute, and the toleration within the walls of his city of the Muhammedan religion; and Timour's descent into the dominions of Bajazet gave it a long reprieve from final destruction. The life and the empire of the Turkish Sultan were ended and dissolved by the Tartarian hero: and had the successors of Timour, like those of Zingis Khan, been worthy of the name of their ancestor, a new Tartarian empire would have been founded on the ruins of the Othman monarchy.

A. D. 1403.

1421. Successors of Bajazet.

The Turkish annals are full of disgusting details of civil wars among the children of Bajazet, but the youngest (his name was Muhammed) restored the unity of the empire. Romania and Anatolia formed its principal strength; and those countries were enjoyed in the fullness of power by his son Amurath II. Under Muhammed II. the next prince in the succession of the Othman kings, and as Bayle justly says, one of the greatest men recorded in history (if the qualifications

lifications of a conqueror constitute true greatness), the Morea was subjugated, and the Greek empire, which had been so long shaken by internal dissentions, and tottering to dissolution with luxury, was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors. The venerable city of Constantinople, the metropolis of Christianity and the Roman empire, was taken by the Muhammedans. Prusa and Adrianople, the ancient capitals of the Othmans, sunk into provincial towns; and Muhammed the Second established his own residence, and that of his successors, on the same commanding spot which had been chosen by Constantine.* The Euphrates and the Adriatic bounded the conquests of Muhammed II.; but under his successors the Turkish power

Capture of Constantinople by the Turks. A. D. 1453.

* For this view of Turkish history, from the reign of Othman to that of Muhammed, I am indebted to the articles under the names of the different Sultans in D'Herbelot; to the 64th, 65th, and 68th chapters of Gibbon's History; to the Histoire de l'Ordre de Malthe par l'Abbé Vertot; Prince Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman Empire (a work, however, of little value); to D'Anville, l'Empire Turc considéré dans son Etablissement et dans ses Accroissemens successifs, 8vo. Paris, 1772; to Voltaire, Essai sur l'Histoire Générale, chap. 76, 78, 79; and for the verification of all my facts to M. de la Croix, Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire Ottomane, 2 tom. 12mo. Paris, 1768. Those persons only who have toiled through the ponderous volumes of oriental history, can estimate the value of the comprehensive brevity of this work of De la Croix.

CHAP. IV. power continued to increase. Without entering into an history of the contests of the Turks with the European and Asiatic princes, a detail of war and truce, crowned with final success, the historian may generally remark, that every portion of continental and insular Greece was joined to the Turkish empire; that the whole of Syria paid its contribution of tribute to these freebooters from the north; and that the rich country of Egypt was annexed to the Othman monarchy.*

A.D. 1453-1566. From Muhammed II. who took the city of the Cæsars, to Solyman the Magnificent, a rare series of active and warlike princes ruled over the Turkish empire. By their great abilities, they kept their subjects of every order, military as well as civil, submissive to government; and had the absolute command of whatever force their vast empire was able to exert. Solyman in particular, who is known to the Christians chiefly as a conqueror, but is celebrated in the Turkish annals as the great lawgiver, who established order and police in their empire, governed during his long reign, with no less authority than wisdom. He divided his dominions into several districts; he appointed the

Character of the Othman Sultans.

* There is an excellent dissertation of M. Tercier on the conquest of Egypt by the Turks, in the 21st volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions.

the number of soldiers which each should furnish; he appropriated a certain proportion of the lands, in every province, for their maintenance; he regulated, with a minute accuracy, every thing relative to their discipline, their arms, and the nature of their service. He placed the finances of the empire in an orderly train of administration; and though the taxes in the Turkish dominions, as well as in the other despotic monarchies of the east, are far from being considerable, he supplied that defect by an attentive and severe economy. Instead of wasting their talents in the slothful luxury of the seraglio, the heirs of royalty were educated in the council and the field. From early youth they were entrusted by their fathers with the command of provinces and armies; and this manly institution, though often productive of civil war, must have essentially contributed to the discipline and vigour of the monarchy. The sovereign's person is less sacred than the right of succession. A weak and vicious Sultan may be deposed and strangled; but his inheritance devolves to an infant or an idiot: nor has the most daring rebel presumed to ascend the throne of his lawful sovereign. While the transient dynasties of Asia have been continually subverted by a crafty Vizier in the palace, or a victorious general in the camp, the

CHAP. IV. Othman succession has been confirmed by the practice of five centuries, and is now incorporated with the vital principle of the Turkish nation.*

On the ruins of the Seljukian and Zingishanidan dynasties, the Turkman shepherds reared a solid fabric of strength and grandeur. By a long line of illustrious princes it was supported and adorned, and the Othman monarchy held an high and distinguished station among the powers of Europe and of Asia. But immediately after the reign of Solyman the Magnificent, that last great representative of the Tartarian kings, the Turkish empire began to fall. Its history from that period to the present time presents nothing that is in any degree important or interesting to an inquirer into the progress of the Muhammedan religion. The nation kept not pace with the Europeans in the gradual advancement of letters and science; and the Sultans had none of the martial energies of their ancestors. The Turkish troops had once possessed every advantage, which arises from superiority in military discipline. The most intelligent, as well as impartial authors of the sixteenth century, acknowledge and lament the superior attainments of the Turks in the military science. Guicciardini informs us, that

* Robertson's Charles V. vol. 1, sec 3. Gibbon, ch. 65.

that the Italians learned the art of fortifying towns from the Turks. Busbequius, who was ambassador from Ferdinand to Solyman, and who had an opportunity to observe the state, both of the Christian and the Turkish armies, published a discourse concerning the best manner of carrying on war against them, in which he gives an elaborate description of the immense advantages which the infidels possessed, with respect to discipline, and military improvements of every kind.* The Christian armies did not acquire that superiority over the Turks which they now possess, until the long establishment of standing forces had improved military discipline among the former, and until the ancient warlike institutions of the latter had been corrupted or abolished.

* See note 44 to the 3d section of the first volume of Robertson's Charles V.

CHAP. V.

THE KORAN; OR, A VIEW OF THE THEOLOGICAL, MORAL, AND JURIDICAL SYSTEM OF THE MUSELMANS....MUHAMMEDAN SECTS.

CHAP. V.

Principles of Muhammedanism.

THE abolition of idolatry and superstition, and the restoration of religion to what he called its pristine purity, were the avowed and plausible objects of the Arabian Prophet. The unity and indivisibility of the Godhead formed the basis of his creed, while the promise of rewards and the threat of punishments, both temporal and eternal, secured the virtue of his followers. But their reliance upon the divinity of his own pretended mission in the cause of reformation, was incontestibly necessary for the support of his system; and therefore, the discordant names of God and Muhammed are united in the confession of the Moslem's faith:

"ALLAH IL ALLAH, MUHAMMED RESOUL ALLAH."—

"THERE IS ONE GOD, MUHAMMED IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD."

Origin of the Koran.

Without discussing the merits of the different notions

notions of the Muselmans with respect to the origin of their sacred volume—the opinion of the orthodox Sonnites that the Koran was uncreated, and stored in one of the seven heavens from all eternity; that copies of it on paper, bound in silk and adorned with gems, were brought from its celestial abode to earth by the angel Gabriel, and delivered to Muhammed in the month of Ramadan; or the more mild and moderate idea of the Mottazalites,* that this word of God had no claim to eternity; it is sufficient for us to observe, that the volume generally known by the title of the Koran (or the book fit to be read, as the word signifies)† contains the substance of Muhammed's pretended revelations from heaven. Whenever enthusiasm suggested, or passion and policy required it, a portion of the divine commands was proclaimed by the preacher to his auditory of fanatics, and registered by them in their memories, or inscribed on the more durable materials of the leaves of the palm-tree, and the skins of animals.‡ A copy of these fragments was entrusted to the charge of one of his most favoured wives; and although Abu Beker, the first Ca- CHAP. V.

 liph,

* D'Herbelot, art. Alcoran; and D'Ohsson, tom. I, p. 84—95.

† See Maracci, Prod. de Alc. chap. I.

‡ Savary's Preface to the French translation of the Koran.

CHAP. V.

liph, methodized them into a volume, yet in the course of a very few years, so many errors had crept into the sacred text, that Othman, the third Caliph, called in the different manuscripts, and assured the faithful he would rectify them from the original. But so manifold were the various readings of these copies, that, as the least difficult task, this successor of the Prophet destroyed the volumes themselves, and published a new Koran, which is the same that we now read.

Its literary merits.

To the Sanscrit language alone the Arabic is inferior in copiousness. But as the people of the desert are divided into various tribes, estranged from each other, so it naturally happened, that each tribe should have forms of speech peculiar to itself. Indeed, in no language are there so many dialects as in the Arabic: so great is their difference, that we can with difficulty trace them to a common source. In the idiom used at Mecca the Koran was written: that idiom is, therefore, from sentiments of reverence to religion, more highly esteemed by the Arabs than the language of any other part of their country. In the present times, however, our most inquiring travellers can find little or no resemblance between the words used in the common intercourse of life in Arabia, and the words of the Koran. Time, and communication with strangers,

strangers, have been followed by their usual consequences. The Arabic of the Koran is taught at Mecca like a dead language. The dialects in the numerous provinces of Arabia are as various as those of Italy; while in Syria, Egypt, and other Muselman countries, the resemblance which the Spanish, Portuguese, and Provençal languages bear to the Latin, will suggest an idea of the affinity between the real Arabic and its modern variations. Some people speak the pure language of Ishmael, while others *mutter it barbarously*. The style and composition of the Koran are esteemed by the doctors of the Mosque to be inimitable, and more miraculous than the act of raising the dead: and the proudly acknowledged illiteracy of Muhammed was proclaimed by his followers, as the grand argument in favour of its divine origin. In the spirit of enthusiasm or vanity, the Prophet rests the truth of his mission on the merit of his book, audaciously challenges both men and angels to imitate the beauties of a single passage, and presumes to assert God alone could dictate this incomparable performance. The harmony and copiousness of style will not reach in a version the European infidel: he will peruse with impatience the endless incoherent rhapsody of fable, history, precept, and declamation. Theology and morality are interspersed CHAP. V.

CHAP. V.

among trivial matters; and exhortations to charity are sullied by commands of war against infidels. As the different parts of the Koran were written for occasional purposes, mistakes and contradictions were repeatedly made. When circumstances varied, new revelations were necessary; and, therefore, the convenient doctrine of permission to abrogate, as well as to create, was invented.*

Its division into chapters and verses.

The Koran is divided into one hundred and fourteen chapters or suras, an Arabic word which signifies a connected portion, and these suras again into verses. The suras are of very unequal length, titled, but not numbered; some containing three hundred, and others only three or four verses.† The Muselmans have paid as much superstitious attention to the Koran, as the Jews did to the Bible. In imitation of the labours of the Masori, the learned Moslems have computed every word and every letter contained in

* Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, p. 72, &c. Maracci de Alcorano, p. 43-44. Gibbon, chap. 50. And Pocock's Specimen, p. 150, 152, 191. On the excellence of the style of the Koran, consult Meninski, Thesaurus, vol. 1, p. 16-24.

† Maracci (Prod. de Alc. chap. 2,) remarking on the circumstance of the inequality of the length of the chapters, pleasantly and classically remarks, Nil æquale homini fuit illi—habebat sæpe ducentos, sæpe decem servos. Horace, lib. 1, sat. 3.

in their sacred volume; and for the purpose of supplying the want of vowels * in the Arabic character, have introduced vowel points, which ascertain both the pronunciation and meaning of the text. The Muhammedans never read or touch CHAP. V.

* The antiquity of the vowel points or signs in the Arabic language has been much disputed. Hottinger (Clavis Script. p. 403, Tig. 1651) maintains that the language was never without them; although their shape and position have occasionally varied. Adler (Museum Cuficum Borgianum Velitris, p. 34-37, 4to. Rom. 1782) strenuously contends for the same opinion. Gregory Sharp (Dissertation on the Original Power of Letters, p. 87) says, that the vowel points were not in use till several years after the time of Muhammed. So likewise think the Turks. They give Ali the honour of the invention. It should be observed that no Cufic MS. at present known is without them. Those which are represented in Niebuhr and Chardin have them. They are upon the two exemplars at Constantinople, called by the Muselmans the copies of Ali and Othman, and which, most probably, were written in the time of Ali. Diacritical marks or lines are thought by Adler (De Codd. Cuf. 4to. Hafn 1788) to be almost more necessary than vowel points; though he confesses his inability to conjecture the reason of their non-appearance in Niebuhr's and Chardin's specimens. They are not on the Constantinopolitan MSS. The difficulty of Adler to read the Cufic character without vowel points and diacritical lines influenced his judgment. But the Cufic inscriptions on marble and on coins have none, and are understood by the learned Moslems. Adler seems to own that one of the five Cufic MSS. at Copenhagen has no diacritical lines. These lines were first used by Huggias, who died 95, A. H. See the dissertation on the Cufic MSS. at Constantinople, in the second volume of Toderini. Vowel points.

CHAP. V.

The Muhammedans' respect for it.

touch the object of their veneration, without the legal ablutions having been performed. The Othman Emperors, in imitation of the ancient Caliphs, generally consider it a religious duty to adorn their exemplars of the Koran with gold and precious stones. It is the comfort of the Muselmans amidst the busy duties of the camp, and it forms the great solace of their domestic toils. Verses from it on their banners incite their martial spirit; and its principal sentences, written on the walls of their mosques, remind them of their social duties. The most ancient manuscripts which are known, are on parchment, in the Cufic character of the Arabic language. The modern manuscripts are in the Niskhi mode of writing, on paper curiously prepared from silk, and polished to the highest degree of beauty.* The copy which is most admired

MSS. of the Koran.

Cufic MSS.

* D'Ohsson, tom. 1, p. 88, and Sale's Preliminary Discourse, sec. 3. The ancient Arabs had various dialects and characters of writing. Shortly before the time of Muhammed, the character called the Cufic, was invented by Moramer Ebn Morra, of Anbar, in Arabian Irak. It was introduced into Mecca, the Koran was written in it, and it was in the course of time diffused through all the Moslem world. There seems to be a great resemblance between the Cufic and Syriac characters. The Cufic was used for three hundred years, but in inscriptions on stone and metal it was common until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of the Christian æra. Even in the present day it is sometimes used

admired for the character of its writing and embellishments, formerly belonged to the Turkish Sultan CHAP. V.

used in Africa on public monuments, because the magnitude of the letters seems well adapted for such purposes. Adler. Mus. Cuf. Borg. p. 11. Perhaps it would be more correct to call these African inscriptions, Mauritanic. There is some difference between them and the genuine Cufic. They are both derived from the Syriac, as the keen and indefatigable Benedictine monks have demonstrated. The Cufic appears to have been the eastern, and the Mauritanic the western character of the Arabic tongue. From the latter were derived two other characters, the African and the Spanish. Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique, tom. 1, ch. 14, 3 tom. 4to. Paris, 1750-65. Towards the close of the third century of the Hegira, the Niskhi character was formed from the Cufic. It underwent several changes, and did not receive its present form till the days of Yakut, secretary to Mostasem, the last Caliph of Bagdad. Pocock, Specimen, p. 158, and Elmacin Hist. Sarac. cap. 3, p. 205. Such of the Cufic manuscripts as I have seen are on parchment or vellum. The oldest Cufic MSS. on paper are in the Escurial, but their antiquity is not higher than the fourth or fifth century of the Hegira. Although paper was introduced into Mecca at the commencement of the eighth century of the Christian æra, yet it does not appear that it came immediately into common use. The oldest cotton MS. of any sort that is known, has no antiquity beyond the eleventh century, but from the twelfth, paper was more common than parchment, at least in the Grecian world, for the Latins did not so readily receive it. Montfaucon, Palæographia Græca, p. 18, &c. fol. 1708. Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique, tom. 1, ch. 7, and page 118, *note*, of the present work. The Cufic MSS. are perhaps of variously coloured parchment.

CHAP. V.

Sultan Solyman the Great, and is preserved in the Museum Kircherianum, at Rome. In every public library in Europe are to be found transcripts of the Koran: as the Muselmans have generally prohibited the Christians from the use of it, most of these manuscripts have been taken in battle. Many of them belonged to princes, and are therefore of exquisite beauty. Some of those which formerly were in the possession of Tippoo Sultan, are of peculiar elegance.

Its literary history.

Erpenius, Golius, Zechendorfius, Clenardus, Ravius, Pfeifferus, and Danzius, have edited parts of the Koran. The first edition of the entire work in the Arabic language was published at Venice in the year 1530, by Paganinus, of Brescia. The Pope was alarmed, and the book was in orthodox form *condamné au feu.* Copies of it are, therefore, excessively rare. The next complete edition of the Arabic Koran was published in quarto by Hinckleman, at Hamburgh, in

parchment. Thus the parchment MSS. of the New Testament are either of a purple or of their natural appearance. Wetstinii, Proleg. in Nov. Test. p. 3, ed. Semler, Halæ 1764. The people of old times frequently dyed the materials upon which they wrote. Ovid addresses his book, "nec te purpureo velent vaccinia fuco." De Tristibus, lib. 1, eleg. 1. In most cases the parchment was white within side and yellow without. Juvenal, vii. 23; Persius, iii. 10. The deep red or purple colour was the most choice, and on it were written the most celebrated and esteemed compositions.

in 1684.* The last and most celebrated Arabic edition was printed at St. Petersburgh, some years since, under the auspices of the late Empress Catharine. Scholia in the same language accompany this edition. The benefit of such of her Tartarian subjects as were Muselmans, was the object of the Empress: and in order not to offend their prejudices against printed books, the types were cast in such a manner, that the impression had every appearance of a manuscript. CHAP. V.

Among the numerous versions of the Koran, those into the Persic and Turkish languages are held in the highest estimation. It has been transfused also into the Javan and Malayan dialects. These translations are interlineary and have been made in different periods of the Muselman annals, and even subsequently to the time, when in consonance with the principle, that the progress of languages and conquests is generally commensurate, the Caliph Walid issued a decree that the language of Arabia should be the universal language of the Muhammedan world. The laudable curiosity of Peter, Abbot of Chuni, a monk of the fourteenth century, prompted him to command a Latin translation of the Koran to be prepared. It was published by Bibliander in the year 1550. Translations in every European language have appeared,

* Reineccii, Historia Alcorani, sec. 8, 9, 10, Lipsiæ, 1721. Peignot, Dict. des livres condamnés au feu, i. p. 277.

CHAP. V. appeared, but the French version of Andrea du Ryer, published for the first time at Paris in 1647, and often re-printed, had the greatest credit, till the appearance of the Latin translation of Father Lewis Maracci, the confessor of Pope Innocent the eleventh, and professor of Arabic in the College of Wisdom at Rome. His celebrated edition contains a life of Muhammed, a refutation of the Muhammedan religion, the Arabic text of the Koran, a Latin translation of it, and a vast collection of notes. Pope Innocent the eleventh was the liberal patron of this undertaking. It was the result of forty years labour, and was published at Padua in two volumes folio, in the year 1698: a work of such prodigious learning, as to merit a place in the same rank with the fruits of the toilsome researches of the Benedictine monks. Maracci's elaborate dissertations on the truth of Christianity, and his laboured refutations of Muhammedanism, are better adapted to the conversion of Muselmans, than the instruction of Christians. He is one of that numerous class of writers, who make no distinction between forms and substances, and he pours as great a torrent of learning and argument upon the unimportant, as upon the important parts of the Muhammedan code: the minuteness of his investigations is curious. He is more skilled

skilled in oriental, than in Christian literature. CHAP. V.
His knowledge must obtain the respect of his readers, but his mode of reasoning will frequently excite their ridicule. Maracci's Prodomi, Refutationes and Notæ, are a mine of learning on Muhammedan subjects. England may well be proud of her scholars in Asiatic literature. Sale maintained her character, which Edward Pocock had formed. The translation of the Koran into the English language has received the approbation of every master of the Arabic. Mr. Sale's Preliminary Dissertation and Notes are admirable. All writers on this interesting topic gratefully acknowledge their obligations to them.* The modern translation of the Koran into the French tongue, is by M. Savary. It was made by him while he was in Egypt, and after he had become well acquainted with the manners of the Arabs, and the genius of their language. The excellence of the life of Muhammed

* But it must be remarked, that much of the apparent merit of Sale is in reality due to Pocock. Speaking of the Specimen Hist. Arabum, Reiske in his Observations (p. 228) on Abulfeda's Geography of Syria, remarks, "Ex hoc libro (this libellus incomparabilis, as Reiske calls it in another place) Salius concinnavit illa decantata sua prolegomena ad al Corani suam Anglicam versionem." White in a note under the Preface to the last edition of Pocock, says the same thing.

CHAP. V. Muhammed which precedes the work, has been already noticed. M. Savary's notes are neither numerous nor valuable.

The Koran is the basis of, I. The theology. II. The morality. And III. The civil and criminal laws of the Muhammedans. The traditions of the actions and sayings of the Prophet constitute the second authority of Muselman law. They are considered as a *supplement* to the Koran, and are called Sonna, a word which (among other senses) signifies *custom* or *institute*. The only complete* work in the English language expressly on these traditionary laws is a translation of the Mischat ul Masabih, a class book in Muselman colleges. It is a sort of digest of the great collections of sonnite or orthodox traditions. The Masabih ul Sunnat (or the lamp of religious observances) was compiled by Imam Husain of Bagdad, who died A. H. 516. There have been many commentaries on it: the last and best was made by Shykh Waleeudeen, Abu Abdollah Mahmud who finished his work A. H. 737. He called it the Mischat ul Masabih (the niche for holding the lamp). This work contains the most important and authentic traditions

* In 1805, the first volume of Colonel Baillie's Digest of Muhammedan law, was published at Calcutta.—A volume which makes it a matter of regret that the work has not been completed.

tions of Muhammed compiled from all preceding collections.* The English translation was made

* There are six collections of traditions held in peculiar esteem by the Sonnites, or orthodox traditionists. The one formed by Abu Abdollah Muhammed of Bokharah is peculiarly famous. Two hundred years after the prophet's death, this sage of the law selected seven thousand two hundred and seventy-five genuine traditions, from one hundred thousand of a doubtful, and two hundred thousand more of a spurious character. These traditions were made by the early converts to Islamism, and relate to the actions, the sayings, and even the silence of Muhammed: his taciturnity, like that of the ladies, was full of eloquence, and most important inferences have been drawn from it. His eyes too sent forth "speechless messages." This work was compiled at Mecca. Each day, the industrious and pious author prayed near the gate of Abraham, and performed his ablution with the water from the well Zemzen. Absorbed in veneration for the prophet, he took his book to Medina, digested it into chapters, placed them both in the sepulchre and pulpit of Muhammed, and in the moderate time of sixteen years his work was finished. His collection is called the Sahih, or genuine: it has been received by the four orthodox sects of the Sonnites, and innumerable commentaries on it have been published by the Muselman doctors. Bib. Orient art. Bokari and Sahiah. The marvellous ceremonies which attended the compilation of the Sonna are not unparalleled. The epistle of Leo the Great to Flavianus, upon the Incarnation, is well known to every biblical scholar. John Moschus informs us, in his *spiritual meadow*, that he was told by Abbot Menas, who was told by Abbot Eulogius, who was told by Archdeacon Gregory, that the Roman church had a written tradition, that

CHAP. V.

made by Captain Matthews of the Bengal artillery, and was published at Calcutta in two volumes quarto in 1809.*

Theological principles of the Koran—one God.

I. In opposition to the general Idolatry of the world, the adoration of one only God was the grand foundation of the Mosaic legislation. But Muhammed falsely asserted, that in his days

that Pope Leo, when he had finished this letter, laid it on the tomb of the Apostle Peter, and besought him to correct it, wherever it was erroneous or imperfect. After he had prayed, fasted, and lain on the ground, a decent time (about forty days; for the Apostle was somewhat shy, like Milton's Eve, *who would be wooed, and not unsought be won*), Peter appeared to him, and said, "I have read and cor-" rected;" upon which Leo takes the letter from the tomb, opens it, and finds that the Apostle had been as good as his word. Porson's Letters to Travis, p. 379.

* In writing this chapter, great aid has been derived from the Hedaya, or guide, a commentary on the Muselman law. The same liberal and enlightened policy which gave birth to the compilation of the Hindu laws suggested the propriety of a corresponding work on the laws of the Muselmans in India. By the direction of Mr. Hastings, the principal Muhammedan professors in Bengal translated from the Arabic into the Persian tongue the Hedaya, a work of very high authority in all Moslem countries where the Sonnite faith prevails. It discusses most of the subjects mentioned in the Koran and Sonna, and a vast variety of matters relating to property, which the complications of society gradually changed from barbarism to civilization have rendered necessary. An English translation of the Hedaya was made by Colonel Charles Hamilton, and published in 1791, in four volumes quarto.

days this pure doctrine had been mixed, by the acknowledgment of Ezra as the son or companion of God.* At the time of the appearance of the Arabian prophet, the various systems of idolatry and superstitious credence shocked the moral sense of every philosophical mind, while the false interpretations which the Christian divines of that day gave of the scriptural doctrine of the Trinity of persons in one divine essence, too well countenanced the assertion of the reformer, that a plurality of Gods were worshipped. In order then to banish tenets so absurd, Muhammed proclaims, in every part of the Koran, the unity and indivisibility of the Deity. Without entering, like the philosophers of old, into any metaphysical disquisitions on the essence and nature of the object of all our hopes and fears, the Prophet of Mecca, in a sublime and energetic strain, preaches his attributes. Omnipotent, his throne is extended over heaven and earth: Creator of all things, his providence is displayed in the vicissitudes of the seasons and the revolutions of the world. Neither slumber nor sleep seizeth him; the living, the self-subsisting, the high, the mighty. He makes all nature subservient to the good of man, and provides both for creation's lord and the meanest creature that crawls upon the earth. His rewards are tenfold, and

CHAP. V.

* Koran, ix.

CHAP. V. he is ever ready to pardon on the least sign of repentance. He giveth life and putteth to death, and is almighty. He knoweth that which is past; that which is to come; what the breasts of men contain, and the secrets of futurity.*

Angels. The unknown qualities of the spiritual state, and the inability of man to account for various appearances in the natural and moral worlds, have induced him to imagine the existence of races and gradations of spiritual agents. Hence the systems of demonology among the philosophers and poets of Greece and Rome, and of angels among the Persians. The latter doctrine was adopted by Muhammed, and accordingly the existence of angels,† or beings of a pure and aerial nature, who neither eat nor drink, and whose species is continued by creation, who minister at the throne of God, and both watch the conduct of men and record their actions for judgment, is an article of high import in the Muselman's creed. Four angels appear to be held in high respect. The angel Gabriel, called the holy spirit; Michael, the angel of revelation and friend of the Jews; Azriel, the angel of death; and Israfeel, the angel of the resurrection. A race of beings, termed jin or genii,

* Koran, ii. p. 29, 47; v. p. 418; xi. 16; xvi. 86; xxvii. 230; xxxiv. 287; lxxiii. 485. Mischat, i. 534, 558.

† Koran, ii.

genii, are fancied to exist; but they are less pure than the angels: though ærial, they live like men, and will be judged at the last day. On the creation of mankind pride and envy seized the hearts of Eblis* and of a numerous band of followers, who, in the regions of hell, have since mourned the loss of their high estate. "There is not a man or woman," say the traditions, "without an angel and a devil. "The devil enters into man as the blood into "his body. All the children of Adam, except "Mary and her son, are touched by the devil "at the time of their birth, and the children "make a loud noise from the touch." The business of the devil is to suggest evil; that of the angel, to inform men of the truth. Thus, the Koran says, the devil threatens you with poverty if you bestow in charity, and orders you to pursue avarice; but God promises you grace and abundance from charity.† CHAP. V.

Eternal decrees

On one of the most abstruse subjects upon which man has ever exercised his faculties, and which has, more than any other, displayed both the strength and weakness of the human intellect, Muhammed has pronounced, with a

 positiveness

* Koran, ii. and vii. The Eblis of the Muhammedans is precisely the same as the Satan of the Jews, and the Arimanius of the Magi.

† Mischat, i. 23.

CHAP. V.

positiveness consonant with the character of a wild fanatic, or worthy of a messenger from heaven. The doctrine of eternal decrees and absolute predestination he inculcates in the strongest and strictest terms.* His companions, supposing that necessity and responsibility were incompatible, naturally said, "O "Prophet, since God hath appointed our "places, may we confide in this, and abandon "our religious and moral duties." But he replied, no: because the happy will do good works, and the miserable will do bad works.†

Prophets and Scriptures.

That the Creator had, from the earliest ages of the world, declared his will to his creatures, is a fact readily allowed; and the different revelations of that will were comprised in one hundred and four books. But the Koran asserts, with equal confidence, that these written memorials, except the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and Gospels, have been entirely lost. And in order to prove the necessity of a new revelation of the commands of Heaven, and to support the tenet of the genuine scriptures inspired by the Almighty, predicting the appearance of the Arabian prophet, the Muhammedans think that the sacred books, both of the Jews and Christians, became so materially corrupted in the course of ages, that scarcely any

* Koran, iii. iv. xvii. &c. † Mischat, i. 28.

any portion of the originals remained at the time the Koran was written. By a narrative of Christ's mission, falsely attributed to St. Barnabas, and in which our Saviour is made to speak of Muhammed as the Paraclete or Comforter, they are taught to believe, that Jesus, the Son, not of God, but of Mary, (for an acknowledgment of our Saviour's divinity would be inconsistent with their creed) was the last prophet of the Jews, the true Messias, the worker of miracles, and preacher of righteousness; but the crucifixion is denied: for the opinion of some early heretical Christians is adopted,—that Jesus escaped from the Jews, and was caught up into the third heaven. In the present times, however, truth has prevailed over bigotry, and the most intelligent doctors of the mosque reject this narrative, and listen to the language of the canonical gospels. Although they deny his divinity, yet they admit that he was born in a miraculous manner at the command of God.* As the guilt and ignorance

* Reland, de Relig. Muhammedica. Prefat. libri ii. 8vo. Ultraj, 1705. The Muselmans are a sort of heterodox Christians. They are Christians, if Locke reasons rightly, because they firmly believe the immaculate conception, divine character, and miracles of the Messiah; but they are heterodox in denying vehemently his character of Son, and his equality as God, with the Father, of whose unity and attributes they

CHAP. V.

rance of mankind produced the necessity of frequent communications from heaven, so, a long succession of prophets and apostles, among whom Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Christ, are the most eminent, from time to time appeared, till at length the spirit of revelation ceased in the person of Muhammed, the last and greatest messenger from the Almighty*.

Intermediate state of the soul.

The dissolution of the body at the hour of death is palpable to our senses, and the separation from it of the immortal part is consonant with the soundest philosophy. But while reason on the one hand rejects the idea, that the soul can die in consequeuce of its separation from its corporeal frame, she feels some difficulty in being able to assign it energies and operations, unless it is cloathed with the organs of sense. From the incertitude of man's knowledge and the restlessness of his curiosity, we can account for all the fables of the Greeks and

they entertain and express the most awful ideas. In point of sanctity, Christ is held by them in a rank next to that of their pseudo-prophet. Persian and Turkish authors invariably mention Christ with veneration. It has happened, that a Turk in common life has been bastinadoed almost to death for uttering disreputable words against the Messiah. He might have called Christians dogs as long as he pleased. —Sir W. Jones on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India, and Sir W. Ouseley, Oriental Collections, No. 1, p. 41.

* Sale, section iv.

and Hebrews upon the subject. The writers among both these nations, when treating of the future state, assign to departed souls a common mansion in the inner parts of the earth. The people of the most early times represent this dwelling as a place of impenetrable obscurity; but in the course of ages, the opinion of the world on this matter underwent some change. The Greeks and Latins, who lived about the time of Christ's appearance, considered this spiritual abode as a place where the souls of the bad and good met with due rewards and punishments;* the Jews argued that it was an intermediate state, where pleasure or pain were experienced. Thus, as the Greeks and Latins had their regions of blessedness and woe, their Tartarus and Elysium, so the Jews held out their Gehenna and Paradise. In the Greek Testament, the word ἀιδης is used to express the intermediate state. Etymologically (ab ειδω video and α priv.) it means a place of darkness, and corresponds with the Latin term, Inferus.† In the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, where both persons are described as being in ἀιδης, in one common place, where they were near each other, CHAP. V.

* Lowth, de Poesi Hebræorum, Prelec. vii. and Michaelis' Notes, and Pearson on the Creed, art. v. and his admirable notes.

† Schleusner, Lexicon, in Nov. Test. in loco, and Rosenmuller, Scholia in Nov. Test. in Luc. chap. 16. ver. 23.

CHAP. V.

other, and in Christ's promise to the penitent thief on the cross, the author of our religion recognizes and sanctions the belief, that the human soul, in the state between this life and the next, does not remain inactive, but dwells in a condition of misery or happiness. The sleep of the soul is not a principle of Islamism, but from certain passages in the eighth, the forty-seventh, and the seventy-ninth chapters of the Koran, it should seem to have been the doctrine of Muhammed, that the intermediate state would, like the future world, be a place of rewards and punishments. Munnker and Nekir, two black angels with blue eyes, enter the tomb, and ask the deceased person the names of his Lord, his religion, and his prophet. The faithful answer, God is my Lord, Islam is my religion, and Muhammed is my prophet.* Frightful torments will be the lot of the infidels, and the angels will announce to the Muselmans, the nature and degree of the felicity

* This sepulchral examination is a great subject of ridicule among sceptics. A Persian nobleman once interrupted a preacher in the Mosque, by exclaiming to the astonished congregation, "All that that fellow says about Munnker "and Nekir is a lie My servant died four days ago, and "as I was resolved to discover the truth, I stuffed his "mouth quite full with dry grain. I have since opened "his grave, and the grain is exactly where it was placed: "it is, therefore, quite impossible that he should have "spoken to man or angel."

city they will hereafter enjoy.* The doctors of the mosque have exercised their ingenuity, and amused their fancy, in describing the various employments and abodes of the soul in this condition of wretchedness or joy;† but so numerous and so fanciful are these opinions, and so little credit is attached to them by the more learned Muselmans, that their description would be useless. These opinions were formed, it should seem, for the satisfaction of the illiterate. It is the character of philosophers to pause and doubt on matters of such extreme obscurity as the nature and employments of the soul, while to vulgar minds, any fable, however gross, is more acceptable than ignorance. CHAP. V.

The future state.

To rewards in another life, as well as to sensual pleasures, and the mental gratification of the performance of virtue in the present, the faithful are urged unceasingly to look; but the exact time of final remuneration of obedience, neither the Angel Gabriel nor Muhammed pretended to know. But the disciples of the Prophet, arrogating more knowledge than their master had assumed, have ventured to prophecy the signs which will forewarn the world of the coming

* D'Ohsson, tom. 1, p. 136-7.

† Sale, sec. 4. Praying for the dead is, as may be supposed from the doctrine stated in the text, a legal act. God will bestow blessings on the dead for the sake of the living. Mischat, v. 1, 561.

CHAP. V.

coming of the last great day. Antichrist will appear in Syria, and lay waste all places except Mecca and Medina; but at the end of forty days of different lengths (one of them equal to a year), he will be killed by Jesus himself. Mehdy an Imam, of Muhammed's family, will govern all Arabia, and fill the earth with righteousness. A general decay of virtue and a proneness to idolatry, wars, universal distress, and awful appearances of nature, will declare the necessity and certainty of some wondrous approaching change. Accordingly, Christ will descend on earth, in order to calm the agitated elements of the natural and moral world, and to establish universal tranquillity. At the end of forty years, creation will return to its pristine chaos; but the "blast "of resurrection" from the great trumpet shall be sounded, and a perfect restoration of angels, genii, men, and even animals, will ensue. The bodies of mankind, scattered over all the earth, and perished into impalpable dust, will then be re-formed, and, at the command of the Almighty, will be reanimated by their union with the soul. "On the day wherein the earth shall "be changed into another earth,"* and "when "the

Resurrection.

* Koran, chap. 9. For my account of the resurrection, and the subjects connected with it, I am indebted to the Koran, to Sale, Maracci, and Reland. Consult these authorities under their proper titles. Muhammed did not often

" the heavens shall become like molten brass (it " is the Koran that now speaks), and the moun- " tains like wools of various colours, scattered " abroad by the wind,"* the final judgment of mankind will take place. The unbelievers in Islamism will be condemned to the torments of everlasting fire: the abodes of misery for the Christians, the Jews, the Sabians, the Magians, and the Idolators, are each, in the succession of their names, more dreadful than the other; while, with laudable justice, the extreme of punishment is reserved for the hyprocrites and nominal professors of every religious system. The doom of the infidel part of the world having thus been sealed, the piety of the Muselmans will be examined. But as the justice of the speculative tenets of a true believer concerning God and his apostle, is, as it were, implied in the very name of Muselman, so his actions alone, and not his opinions, will be examined. In a balance sustained by the angel Gabriel, one scale over Paradise, the other over hell,

Eternal punishment of infidels.

Judgment of the Moslems.

often exercise his own imagination, and in planning his paradise he had the Persians and Hindus constantly in mind. The Magi had peopled the region of beatitude with the Hoorani Behest, or the houris of Paradise, who are the the black-eyed virgins of the Koran. The wonders of the Hindu abode of bliss are almost literally copied. Malcolm's Persia, vol. 2, p. 330.

* Koran, vii.

CHAP. V.

hell, and sufficiently capacious to contain both heaven and earth, the actions of the faithful will be weighed. But as, in every false religion, the character of its author, and of the persons to whom it is addressed, are mixed with, and appear through the code; so, in the present case, a transaction will occur, which strongly marks the dark revengeful nature of the Asiatic mind. Retaliation of injuries will be made, and in the absence of all other modes of satisfaction, the injurer will forfeit a proportionable part of his good works to him whom he has injured, and in case of any moral deficiency, the aggressor's weight of guilt will be burthened with a portion of the crimes of his wronged brother in the faith. On the preponderance of virtue or vice, will hang the lot of happiness or woe of every individual.* To the bridge Al Sirat, finer than a hair, and sharper than the edge of a sword, both the guilty and the virtuous Moslems will then proceed; the guilty will sink into hell that is gaping beneath them, where even those who are least culpable will have their feet shod with shoes of fire, the fervor of which will make their skulls boil like cauldrons: yet, as it is a great doctrine of Islamism, that no unbeliever will ever be released, nor any person who in his lifetime has professed the unity of God, be condemned

Retaliation.

* Koran, xxiii. vii.

condemned to eternal punishment, so those to whom the passage of the bridge has proved too difficult, will remain in misery for different periods of time, and until "the crimes done in "their days of nature shall have been burnt "and purged away." The virtuous Muselmans, under the guidance of the Prophet, will, with the swiftness of lightning, pass the abyss in safety, and reach the groves and gardens of the seventh heaven, or Paradise, where palaces of marble, and all the idle toys of worldly luxury, await them. But their most exquisite pleasure will consist in their constant society with never-fading beauties, formed, not from clay, but from the purest musk, and the fire of whose large black eyes is so sweetly tempered by modesty, that, to use the expressive language of the Koran, "they resemble pearls hidden in "their shells."* Seventy-two houries will be the lot of the meanest believer. All his desires will be gratified at the moment of their formation, and the songs of the daughters of Paradise will add to his delights. Of the reality of these pleasures the Koran speaks decisively, and we cannot, without a violation of sense, turn them into allegories. The more pure, however, of the Muselmans, those who have been exalted in this life for eminence of virtue and learning, will be

Paradise of the Moslems.

* Koran, lvi.

CHAP. V.

be rewarded with higher gratifications than those of luxury and appetite.* Such mean pleasures will be lost in the mental felicity of eternal truth, and in the daily contemplation of the Deity.

Responsibility of woman.

Our knowledge of the degraded state of women in the east, has given rise to an opinion not very honourable to their moral and intellectual character. But although Muhammed saw, with the eye of a prophet, that the majority of the damned would be women, yet he has charitably pronounced the sex to be both immortal and responsible; and has declared, "whoso worketh "righteousness, whether they be males or fe- "males, and are true believers, we will surely "raise them to a happy life, and we will give "them their reward, according to the utmost "merit of their actions."† The felicity of women

* Reland, p. 199—205.

† Koran, xv. Mischat i. 326. ii. 502. The Prophet thought that a woman was worth the moiety of a man: his precept, therefore, was, that the fine for an offence against a woman should be half the fine for an offence against a man. The Koran says, "The free shall die for the free, and a "woman for a woman." The more chivalrous Sonnites have, however, in violation of their Prophet's laws, decreed the equality of the sexes, and gone to the monstrous length of commanding that a man should even be put to death for the murder of one of the opposite sex. Women may execute magistracy in all cases of property, but not of punishment and

women will not be so exquisite as that of the men; for their actions in this life cannot have been equally important and meritorious; neither are the declarations of the Koran positive, that the sexes will dwell together. Muhammed, therefore, has not specified the male companions of the female elect, lest, as Gibbon shrewdly says, "he should either alarm the jealousy of "their former husbands, or disturb their feli- "city, by the suspicion of an everlasting mar- "riage." CHAP. V.

II. Prayer to the object of their faith is the most important practical duty of the Muselmans. "Glorify God," saith the Koran, "when the "evening overtaketh you, and when you rise in "the morning; and unto him be praise in hea- "ven and in earth; and at sunset, and when "you rest at noon."* Prayer is pronounced in the Koran to be the pillar of religion, the key of Paradise. Nothing is more virtuous than to repeat the praises of God, and to declare his unity and greatness. Five times in the course of every day;—in the morning before sun-rise, —directly after mid-day,—immediately before sun-set, Moral principles of the Koran. Prayer.

and retaliation; a singular distinction this, as nature never mixes any particles of malice and rancour in the composition of these gentle creatures.

* Koran, xxx. The expression "sun-set," in this passage has been always interpreted to mean, the afternoon, as well as the evening prayer.

CHAP. V. sun-set,—in the evening after sun-set,—and again some time between that period and midnight, the cryers from the minarets,* or summits of the mosques, are commanded to proclaim to the people, in the very words which Muhammed spoke when he entered the city of Medina, that the hour of prayer is arrived. The Muselman, whether he be at home or in the public walks (for every place applied to the service of the Almighty is equally pure), is in a brief, but earnest supplicatory address, to pour forth his soul to heaven. His attention is not exhausted by the length of his prayers, and the few words of that petition, which is accounted most efficacious, are strongly expressive of self-abasement, of praise to God, and of reliance on his mercy.† Various ceremonies are prescribed for the due performance of the rite, but the doctors of the mosque with truth maintain,‡ that it is to the devotional state of the heart, and not merely to the attitude of the body, that the searcher of spirits looks. One of their ceremonies is in perfect congeniality with a religious feeling of universal influence—a feeling indicative of the devotional nature of man, and of the difficulty to

* The first minarets, or lofty towers, were built by Walid, a Caliph of the Ommiadan dynasty, on the superb mosque at Damascus. Bibl. Orient. tom. 3, p. 365.

† Bibl. Orient. tom. ii. p. 332.

‡ Al Ghazali, cited by Sale, Preliminary Discourse, sec. iv.

to practice a perfectly spiritual mode of worship. When the Persian turns his face to the east, which he considers to be peculiarly sacred to the sun, and the Sabean beholds, to use the beautiful language of Job, "the moon walking "in brightness," or directs his eye to the northern star, the view of the objects of their worship kindles the fire of devotion, and checks the wanderings of their fancy. To the holy city of Jerusalem, the Jews constantly looked in the hour of prayer; and to the Temple of Mecca, every follower of Muhammed, in the seasons of adoration, religiously turns his eye.* In imitation of the old Jewish custom, or rather in consonance with the general feeling of the Asiatics against all indiscriminate intercourse between the sexes, women are prohibited from attending the service of the mosque in the presence of the men.† CHAP. V.

The devoting of particular days to more serious religious offices than at ordinary times, and the ensuring by such means improvement to the soul and refreshment to the body, was an institution so beneficial to the spiritual and temporal welfare of mankind, that Muhammed could not fail to observe it. A servile imitator The Moslem's sabbath.

* Bibl. Orient. article Keblah.

† Muhammed said, "women *may* attend the Mosque, but their houses are better for them." Mischat. i. 223.

CHAP. V. of the Jewish and Christian systems he disdained to be considered, and therefore Friday was fixed upon to be the Sabbath of the Muselmans. On that day, solemn prayers are to be offered to God in the mosques, and the Koran is to be expounded by some appointed preacher. The larger the congregation, the more efficacious will be the prayers.* But the general observance of the day is not prescribed with that character of strictness, which distinguishes the Jewish Sabbath: for the Koran says,† "in the "intervals of preaching and of prayer, believers "may disperse themselves through the land as "they list, and seek gain of the liberality of "God,"—by pursuing worldly occupations and innocent amusements, as the context shews us is the meaning.

Ablution. Frequent ablutions are essential to the health, and grateful to the senses of men in the heat of an Oriental clime; and to the mind of an Asiatic, external purification presents a lively image of the internal purity of the heart. The cleansing of the body is pronounced by Muhammed to be the key of prayer, without which it cannot be acceptable to God; and in order to keep the mind attached to the practice, believers are enjoined to pour fine sand over the body, when pursuing their journies through the deserts

* Mischat. i. 223. † Chap. 62.

deserts of the east.* But, as a Muhammedan writer has observed, after describing the variety and the manner of performing the legal lustrations, "the most important purification "is the cleansing of the heart from all blameable inclinations and odious vices, and from "all affections which may divert their attendance upon God."† And although Muhammed well knew, that substances must be preserved by means of ceremonies, yet he has exhorted his disciples not to attach too much consequence to mere external rites, and in a strain of admirable morality has declared, "it "is not righteousness that you turn your faces "in prayer towards the east and the west, but "righteousness is of him who believeth in "God, and the last day, and the angels, and "the scriptures, and the prophets: who giveth "money for God's sake unto his kindred, and "unto orphans, and the needy, and for re"demption of captives: who is constant at "prayers, and giveth alms; and of those who "perform the covenant which they have cove"nanted, and who behave themselves patiently "in adversity and hardships, and in times of

The ritual inferior to the moral law.

"violence;

* Koran, chap. iii. and v. Chardin, tom. ii. ad finem. D'Ohsson, tom. ii. chap. v. In all cases when bathing would be dangerous earth may be used. Mischat. i. 117.

† Al Gahazali, cited by Sale. Prel. Dis. sec. 4.

CHAP. V. " violence: these are they who are true, and " these are they who fear God."*

Fasting. Of all the misconceptions and false applications of salutary principles, none have been more fully fraught with misery than the opinion and principle, that to the moral restraints on our passions imposed by reason and revelation, voluntary corporeal mortification must be superadded. But however prone the weakness of human nature may have been to vitiate what is meant for its benefit, yet the principle of self-denial, accompanied with a caution against the destruction of mental and bodily energies, stands independent of the gloom of fanatics and the frightful superstition of ascetics. The legitimate purpose of fasting is the prevention of offences, and not their punishment; for reason and revelation tell us, that the present life is one of trial, that the future life is one of retribution. Muhammed should consequently have enjoined a regular and diurnal subjection of the body, and not a particular fast at a certain season of the year. Although voluntary fasting is recommended, yet the month of Ramadan was distinguished for the purpose of abstinence, and

* Koran, ii. Zoroaster to the same purpose says, " He " who sows the ground with diligence acquires a greater " stock of religious merit, than he could gain by the repe- " tition of ten thousand prayers."

and in the revolutions of the lunar course, the Muselman is compelled to bear the heat of summer, and the cold of winter, without mitigation or refreshment. "O true believers," says the Prophet, "a fast is ordained you, that "you may fear God; the month of Ramadan "shall ye fast, in which the Koran was sent "down from Heaven. Therefore let him among "you who shall be at home in this month, fast "the same month; but he who shall be sick, "or on a journey, shall fast the like number of "other days."* During this consecrated period, no gratification of the senses, or even support of the body, are allowed from the morning until night. At night, however, the corporeal frame may be renovated, the spirits recruited, and nature may resume her rights. In Ramadan peculiar sanctity is recommended. The virtue of charity is more virtuous when performed in that season. Retaliation of injuries is forbidden, nor must even "the voice be raised on account of enmity." A keeper of a fast (whether legal or voluntary) who does not abandon lying and detraction, God cares not for his leaving off eating and drinking.† CHAP. V.

* Koran, ii. "Eat and drink until ye can plainly dis-"tinguish a white thread from a black thread by day break."

† Mischat. i. 463—477.

CHAP. V.

Interdicted meats.

The nature of the climate of the East has rendered certain meats detrimental to health. Legislators have, therefore, either divided beasts into the clean and the unclean, that is to say, those that are proper, and those that are not proper food; or they have specifically prohibited some, and left the people to their discretion with respect to the use of the rest. Of the former description of lawgivers was Moses, of the latter was Muhammed. That the flesh of the ignavum animal (as Tacitus so decently calls a hog) engenders cutaneous disorders, more especially in warm countries, is a well known fact: the filthiness of the quadruped is sufficient to give a distaste of it, and accordingly we find that the Egyptians, Arabians, and other oriental nations have always abhorred it. The necessity of the case dictated the prohibition, and the language of the Koran therefore is: "Ye are forbidden to eat what dieth of "itself, and blood, and swine's flesh, and what "has been offered to any idol, or strangled, or "killed by a blow or a fall, or gored to death "by another horned beast, unless you your-"selves shall find life in it, and kill it."* The Muhammedan doctors have included beasts and birds of prey in this inhibition. All amphibious animals

* Jew's Letters to Voltaire, vol. 2. Koran ii.

animals are held in abomination, so are the ass and mule, but the lawyers differ about the horse: according to the best opinions the flesh of it is abominable. Hares are neuter. The regulations in the code of Islamism for the slaying of the animal in the least painful way possible, form a pleasing instance of human attention.* CHAP. V.

Prayer

* Hedaya. xlii. By the Musulman law, some things are either positively lawful or unlawful, others are neuter, and may be pursued or avoided. There is a large class of reprobated and abominable actions, but which, however, are not positively unlawful. Muhammed, always kind to his disciples, permits them to eat pork, &c. if they are called so to do by necessity, that is, if they are very hungry. There are several passages in the Koran granting them this permission. The animals proper for a Muselman's diet must be killed agreeably to prescribed forms, or they cannot be eaten by the faithful. According to the orthodox fashion, their (the animal's) throats must be cut. But if slain accidentally or in hunting, the poor beasts MAY be eaten, though their flesh cannot be so savoury as if it was made meat of in the other way. The Moslem butchers seem to think that cutting the throat is the quickest way of extracting what our great lexicographer calls "the red liquor that "circulates in the bodies of animals," and which was so hateful to Muhammed's palate. The learned Moslems are surgeon-butchers as well as lawyers. Some think it is sufficient to cut the wind pipe and gullet; others, in order to make sure work of it, sever the *halkoom*, or windpipe, the *mirree* or gullet, and the *wadijan*, or two jugular veins. From a tender consideration for the wants of man, the Moslem law books say, that a person who slays an animal for a Muselman's

CHAP. V.

Almsgiving.

Prayer carries us half way to God, fasting brings us to the door of his palace, and alms procure us admission, was a saying of one of the early Caliphs.* A tenth part of the property, whether consisting of land, cattle, or goods, which has been for a twelvemonth in the possession of an individual, is the demand on his charity by the Muhammedan law. The tax is no longer levied upon *stationary* property, but only on goods imported by way of trade: its appropriation has in most countries been changed from the support of the indigent to purposes of state; while the prince settles the matter with his conscience by erecting some mosques and supporting a few idle faquirs.† The duty of alms-giving is not, however, considered

Muselman's food, may be either a Muselman or a *Kitabee*; and a *Kitabee*, the learned will remember, and the ignorant must learn, is a *Scripturist*, namely, a Jew or a Christian, whether tributary or not. The animal must be slain "*in the name of God.*" If the slayer wilfully omit this *tasmeed*, or invocation, or add any expression to it, the animal is carrion. If he omit the invocation through *forgetfulness*, the meat is lawful, at least the best lawyers say so; but I beg leave to assure the Christian reader, once for all, that there are *vexatæ questiones* in my Moslem, as well as in his English law, and that his veneration for the quiddities of the true believers cannot exceed their respect for the quirks of the infidels.

* D'Herbelot, tom. 3, p. 71.

† Hamilton, Prel. Disc. p. 63.

sidered to be performed in all its extent, unless, in addition to the legal alms, the believer makes donations to the poor. Hassan, the son of Ali and grandson of Muhammed, twice in his life divided his goods between himself and the distressed; and the Caliphs Omar and Abu-Beker every week distributed abroad in charity the difference between their expenses and revenue.* The productions of corn-fields, olive grounds, and vineyards, are not gathered in the East with minute scrupulosity. To the poor were assigned the gleanings: Job describes them as gathering the harvest dew even in the vineyard of the unjust:† Muhammed permits his disciples to enjoy corn, dates, pomegranates, olives, and all other divine blessings, but commands that in the harvest and vintage, the poor shall have their right.‡ CHAP. V.

To the Temple of Mecca, so sacred and inviolable (perhaps the temple which Diodorus§ remarks as being reverenced by *all* the Arabians, and certainly of such antiquity that its origin is lost in fable‖), the Arabians had long been zealously attached. They annually crowded from Pilgrimage to Mecca.

* Ockley's History of the Saracens, in loco.

† Michaelis on Mosaic Law, vol. 2, p. 257.

‡ Koran, vi.

§ Diod Sic. lib. 3, cap. 44.

‖ Sir William Jones's Dissertations on the Arabs.

CHAP. V. from every part of the land to perform in it their pagan rites, and to worship the different deities whose images they had placed in this pantheon, as it might be called. Three hundred and sixty idols of men and various animals formed the objects of adoration. According to the simple description of Joseph Pitts (almost the only Englishman who has visited the Holy Land of the Muselmans), the temple resembles in form the Royal Exchange in London, though ten times larger. Cupolas and minarets adorn the portico or piazza, and in the centre of the area stands the Caaba, the part of the building most highly venerated. Its shape is quadrilateral: the sides and angles are unequal, though as it is covered with a black cloth (annually renewed by the Turkish Sultan), the irregularity is not apparent. Its height is thirty-four feet, and the front, in which is the door, thirty-seven feet (French measure) long. The light enters through a door and a window. The Caaba has a double roof, supported by three pillars of aloes wood, of an octagonal form. A golden spout discharges to the ground the rain-water from the roof. The well Zemzem, esteemed by the Arabs as the spring which gushed out for the relief of Ishmael, when his mother wandered with him in the desert, is defended by a small cupola from any mixture with rain. The water

from

from this celebrated fountain is warm, brackish, heavy, but very limpid. By its supernatural virtues the soul is cleansed from sin, and it is as useful in invigorating the memory, as the waters of Helicon were in inspiring the fancy of the poet. Various are the wonders of the temple; but the chief one is a black stone at the south-east corner. It fell from heaven in the life of Adam; it was restored to Paradise at the time of the deluge, and brought to Abraham, when (as the fable runs) he erected the Caaba. From the kisses of the pilgrims, the touch of an impure woman, or the sins of the children of Adam, its superficies have been changed from white to black. Leaving the Moslems to raise and overturn whatever hypotheses they please upon the matter, we will state, on the authority of the Spanish Muselman, that this stone is a fragment of volcanic basalts, which is sprinkled throughout its circumference with small pointed coloured crystals, and varied with red feldspath, upon a dark black ground like coal, except one of its protuberances, which is a little reddish. It is raised forty-two inches above the surface, and is bordered all round with a large plate of silver, about a foot broad. The part of the stone that is not covered by the silver at the angle is almost a semicircle, six inches in height, by eight inches six lines diameter

CHAP. V. diameter at its base*. The idolators, in performance of the end of their pilgrimage, threw away most of their garments on arriving at the precincts of the temple. Sometimes by running, and at other times by walking, they encircled the Caaba seven times, and seven times kissed the sacred black stone: seven times they prostrated themselves before idols on the adjacent mountains of Sofa and Moreva. In the valley of Mina they cast stones, sacrificed sheep, and concluded their work by a burial of their hair and nails.† The entire subversion of these customs was beyond the power of Muhammed. Right thinking, or the fervour of a new religion, had banished idolatry; but though the object of the pilgrimage no longer existed, yet whether that the tyranny of custom in things indifferent is equally enthralling as its influence in matters of importance, or that fearful of completely resigning the objects of our affections, we cling with unmanly fondness to names and symbols when the substance is departed, the adherents of Muhammed still dwelt with pleasure on their journies to the venerated temple of their forefathers. The Prophet, after many struggles, consented

* Pitts' account of the religion of the Mahometans, p. 86, &c. Exon 1704. Travels of Ali Bey, 2d vol. chap. 6. D'Herbelot, article Abdallah.

† Pocock, Specimen, p. 115.

consented to the ceremony, but diverted it to a legitimate purpose—the honour of God. In some chapters of the Koran, particularly the second and the twenty-second, the pilgrimage is commanded: and at length, moved by policy or patriotism, Muhammed pretended to attach such importance to the measure, that among his oral sayings we find the declaration, that he who did not perform it once in the course of his life, might as well die a Christian or a Jew: and in the same strain the Muhammedan doctors tell us, that the mere view of this temple by a true believer, without the performance of any rites of prayer, is as meritorious in the sight of God, as the regular exercise of pious duties for a whole year in any other place of worship.* It may not be inapposite to remark, that the Temples held next in esteem to the Caaba, are the Mesged (or Temple) al Nabi, built by Muhammed at Medina, and the great Mosque at Jerusalem. In the former of these consecrated spots he offered public prayers, preached, and was buried. The Muhammedan pilgrims commonly visit this temple after the conclusion of their devotions in the holy city. These temples at Mecca and Medina are called, for the sake of distinction, Haramain, or the two sacred places, and the title of their minister or attendant, stands amidst

CHAP. V.

* D'Herbelot, art. Caaba.

CHAP. V.

amidst the list of splendid distinctions of the Sultans of Constantinople.*

Circumcision.

As a sign of the covenant between the posterity of Abraham and the one true God, the rite of circumcision was adopted. It may be fairly contended, that the antiquity of this ceremony is of higher origin than even the days of this Father of the Faithful. The testimonies of ancient authors are unanimous in proof of the fact of its existence in Egypt, Abyssinia, Ethiopia, and other countries to which the laws of the Jews did not extend, and in modern times it is used (for medical purposes of cleanliness, which perhaps first gave rise to the custom) in Egypt, by the Coptic Christians as well as by Muselmans.† In the Koran there are no positive injunctions

* D'Herbelot, ubi sup. The prayer of a man in his house is equal to the reward of one prayer, but in a temple near his house it is as efficacious as twenty-five prayers. In a public Mosque it is five hundred. In Jerusalem or Medina it is worth 50,000; but in the Caaba 100,000. Mischat. i. p. 155. Large troops of prophets and angels pray daily in the Jerusalem Mosque. There is a guard of 70,000 invisibles, and perfect order is kept.

† See Niebuhr's very curious remarks on and facts relating to circumcision, (both of males and females) in his Description de l'Arabie, p. 67—71. Michaelis, Questions à Niebuhr, p. 185—192, 12mo.; and also on the circumcision of females, note 160 to 47 chap. of Gibbon. Circumsition is common in Africa among the Pagans as well as among

junctions on the performance of circumcision, but as it had been invariably practised in Arabia by the Ishmaëlitish Arabs, the descendants of Abraham, Muhammed speaks of it as a matter in universal use, and apparently as not wanting the sanction of a legislator to ensure its continuance. On the performance of this rite, religious instruction is to be commenced. "Order "your children to say their prayers when they "are seven years of age, and beat them if they "do not do so when they are ten years old."*

Prohibition of wine.

Among the laws of Muhammed, which, by reason of their opposition to the usages in this western world, are to the unphilosophical observer questionable in policy, none have this appearance more than the prohibition of the use of wine.† But the precepts of Muhammedanism

among the Muhammedans. See note 27 to Robert Adams's Narrative, 4to. page 112. On the Turkish practice of circumcision, read Hyde, Opera, tom. 2, p. 236, 4to. Oxon. 1767.

* Mischat. i. 129.

† Koran, ii. v. In prohibiting the use of wine, (under which term are included all descriptions of inebriating liquors) the Prophet meant merely to restrain his followers from unbecoming behaviour, and other evil effects of intoxication. At first the precept was issued in the Koran simply against *drunkenness*, which amounted only to a prohibition of excess in the use of strong liquors; but this not proving sufficient, the negative injunction was produced, by which inebriating fluids were altogether proscribed. Hamilton, Prel. Disc.

CHAP. V. on this subject were neither new nor extraordinary. For ages before the preaching of the Prophet of Mecca, wine was but little drank either in Egypt or Arabia. In the former of those countries vineyards are seldom seen, because the level nature of the land is uncongenial to the growth of the vine, which always delights in hills.* During those months also when the grapes would approach to maturity, the country is overflowed by the Nile, which would cause their inevitable destruction. Some places indeed are favourable to the cultivation of the plant,† but they are not sufficiently numerous or extensive, to justify giving this land of general fertility the appellation of a wine country. The Egyptian lawgivers called in the aid of religious imposture to make efficacious their advice to the people, of contentment with the various preparations and distillations from grain; wine therefore

* ——— Apertos
Bacchus amat colles.——
Georg. ii. 112.

The best wines of the ancients, the Falernian, Massic, Caecuban, Albanian, and Tusculan, were all made on hills. So also were the celebrated wines of Chios, Crete, and other Grecian islands. The loftier the situation the better the wine. Barry on the wines of the Ancients. The wine of *Mount* Lebanon was of peculiar excellence. Harmer's Observations, 22.

† The Alexandrian or Mareotic wine is praised by that good judge Horace, lib. 1. od. 37.

fore was declared to be an abomination to the Gods, and the *blood* of the ancient enemies of Egypt.* From Egypt, the parent of philosophy, superstition, and the sciences, these opinions spread abroad. Even the Manicheans in Persia held wine to be the blood, or rather the gall, that is, the poison of their supposed evil principle, and prohibited its use among the elect; and hence the Manichean Christians forbad the use of wine in the Lord's supper.† To a very remote period in the history of Arabia, we can trace the abhorrence of wine; and we may remark that Jeremiah, who lived twelve hundred years before Muhammed, mentions an Arabian family that entered Palestine with the Israelites, and after a residence there of at least eight hundred years, continued sacredly to adhere to the injunctions of their ancestor Jonadab, "not to "build houses, but to dwell *in* tents; not to "sow, nor to plant, nor to possess any vineyards, "nor to drink wine."‡ These customs of the people and sanctions of lawgivers, are well suited to the East. "In warm countries," says Montesquieu, "the aqueous part of the blood "loses itself greatly by perspiration, and must

CHAP. V.

 "be

* Plutarch de Iside.

† Michaelis's Commentaries on the Mosaic Law, vol 3, art. 190, Smith's Translation. Jablonski. Pantheon, Ægypt. part 1. p. 133—134.

‡ Michaelis, vol. 3, p. 128.

CHAP. V. "be supplied by a like fluid: water is there-
"fore of admirable use; strong liquors would
"coagulate the globules of the blood that re-
"main after the transuding of the aqueous
"humour. The law of Muhammed is, conse-
"quently, proper to the climate of Arabia."*
In southern countries, too, drunkenness is attended with far more formidable consequences, greater passion, violence, and bloodshed, than in northern climes, and must necessarily be regarded by a legislator in a different light. The dread of the punishment of hell still hangs over the head of the offender, if he be guilty of intoxication; but viewing the action as an offence against society, the simple but express laws of the Prophet against drunkenness have been so much refined by the Moslem lawyers, that their essence is almost lost. The crime may be practised with impunity to any extent short of outrageous disorder. If the smell of wine be not on the breath of the accused, or his intoxication be apparent, testimony to the fact is of no avail; unless, indeed, in consequence of the distance of places, the flavour or the intoxication should cease, before the prosecutors can carry the party before the magistrates. Even if the odour remain, or if he vomit wine, witnesses must have seen him drink the prohibited juice; for, argue the

* Montesquieu, l'Esprit des Loix, livre 14, chap. 10.

the Muhammedan casuists, the accused may only have sat among wine-drinkers, or wine may have been administered to him by force or menaces. The lawyers are divided in their opinions with respect to the degree of intoxication which merits punishment. Some hold, that the person must not be able to distinguish what is said to him in any shape, nor to know a man from a woman: others think, confused and indistinct speaking sufficiently mark the person's state. When the crime is fully proved, eighty stripes is the punishment of a free man, and forty of a slave.* CHAP. V.

Gaming.

The moral principles which are applicable to the last matter under discussion, lose none of their force when referred to, in arguing the propriety of another subject of Muhammedan regulation. Amidst the cares and calamities of life,

* Hedaya, book 7, chap. 4. Mischat, ii. 204. The general rule is, that slaves offending against the law are liable to only half the punishment of freemen, on the argument, that as bondage occasions the participation of only half the *blessings* of life, it also occasions the suffering of only half the *punishments*, because an offence increases in magnitude in proportion to the magnitude of blessings under the enjoyment of which it is committed. In cases of theft, which are punished by amputation, the slave and the freemen are upon an equal footing; for the Moslem doctors gravely say, it is not possible to *halve* amputation.

CHAP. V. it is natural to add physical aids to our moral consolations; but the abuses of the auxiliary are so detrimental to society, that religion and laws loudly proclaim against them. Chance and risk must enter into all our projects, whether of public or domestic concern; but the extension of the principle to cases where the necessary purposes of life do not require it, fills the land with vice, and crushes families with ruin. The passion of gaming, that offspring of avarice, indolence, and restlessness, has consequently met from the moralist the severest reprobation. But in the East, where most of the passions are fierce in their nature and dreadful in their energies, the laws have sanctioned the efforts of the preacher. In the Institutes of Menu, and in the general body of Gentoo laws, so highly venerable for their antiquity and authority, gaming is prohibited.* In the progressive depravity of ages, the necessity of the Cornelian laws upon the subject, the "vetita legibus alea,"† proportionably increased, and the strictness of Christian morality induced the Emperors of Constantinople to forbid all amusements of chance to the clergy, and to allow them to the laity only during

* See Halhed's Translation of the Gentoo Laws, chap. 21, sec. 1.; and Jones's Institutes of Hindu Law, chap. 9, sec. 221—225.

† Horat. lib. 3. ode 24.

during the times of general festivity.* The Talmudists, too, have reprobated the vice, and Muhammed has fulminated against it the strongest denunciations of heavenly wrath.† But a well measured distinction has saved the pastime of the wise from these rigorous ordinances. From the west of India the game of chess travelled to Persia, and was introduced into Arabia about the æra of Muhammedanism. Whatever might have been the cause of the invention, or the purpose of its founder, yet the beautiful simplicity and extreme perfection of the game as played in western Europe, and the fine political lesson it gives to kings, that although the person of a monarch is sacred, yet his political existence depends upon his wise government of the people, place it in a very honourable rank among the productions of science. The mighty conqueror Tamerlane studied "art and industry,

Chess.

"courage

* The Roman laws on gaming are Dig. lib. ii. tit. 5. cod. 3. tit. 43. Justinianus in jure civili, Laicis aliquando permittit *Tabulum*, si modice fiat. Sed Clericis plane interdicit *ad tabulum ludere* (quippe in quâ sit alea) *aut cum aliis ludentibus participes esse, aut inspectores fieri, aut ad quodlibet spectaculum spectandi gratia venire.* Et *si aliquis in hoc delinqueret per triumvirum erat ab officio suspendus.* Alias vero apud Romanorum magnates et doctos jurisconsultos sine scrupulo exercere solebat. Hyde, De Ludis Orient. p. 115. 12mo. Oxon, 1694.

† Koran, ii. and v.

CHAP. V. " courage and policy,"* from the movements of chess-men, and the acuteness and address of the doctors of the Mosque in secular affairs are exercised and improved in this mimic field of worldly conflict.†

Besides

* Cowley's Ode to Destiny.

Chess. † As chess depends wholly on skill and management, and not at all on chance, the Muhammedan doctors allow it to be lawful. Sale's Prelim. Dissert, sec. 5. But the Prophet is supposed to have reprobated the carved pieces of men, elephants, and dromedaries, with which the Pagan Arabs played; the Sonnites therefore use plain pieces of wood or ivory, but the Persians and Indians are not so scrupulous. Sales' note under ch. 5. From the Hedaya, the general legality of chess appears very doubtful. See the chapter on Abominations. The Arabic writers inform us, that chess was invented in a time of public convulsion by a Bramin, as a lesson to a profligate and unpopular prince, that he could neither attack his enemies, nor defend himself against them, without the assistance of his subjects. Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscrip. tom. 5. p. 253. Sir Wm. Jones countenances the opinion of the Hindus, that the game of chess was invented by a Hindu woman (by the wife of Ravan king of Lanca) in order to amuse him with an image of war while his city was closely besieged by Rema, about four thousand years ago. Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. i. 4to ed.—Daines Barrington attributes the invention to the Chinese: he satisfactorily proves that chess was unknown both to the Greeks and to the Romans. The Italians first received it from the modern Greeks. Boccacio speaks of it as a common amusement at Florence in the fourteenth century. From Italy it soon proceeded to every country of the west. Consult Barrington's Essay on the subject in vol. 9

of

CHAP. V.

General exhortations to virtue.

Besides these specific regulations for moral conduct, the exhortations to virtue are numerous in the Koran and Sonna, and atone for many pages of absurdity. The golden rule of reciprocal benevolence is repeated in both. Vice is declared to consist in a sinful thought and look, and men are rewarded according to the merit of their intentions. Pride, anger, and covetousness, are held in abhorrence. Faith is to be kept

of the Archæologia. The Moors of Spain greatly contributed to its general usage. Jones is certainly wrong in his notion, that "the game was invented by one effort of some "great genius, and not completed by gradual improve-"ments." He founds his opinion on the perfection and simplicity of the game, as it is commonly played in Europe and in Asia. Now it appears that the old and original Hindu game of chess is extremely complicated, and is essentially different from the modern Hindustanee mode; both these modes vary materially from the Chinese game, and that again from the Burhman. The modern Persian and the modern Hindustanee modes are the same. The English game of chess differs from them all. See Captain Cox's curious Dissertation on the subject in the seventh vol. of the Asiatic Researches, and some admirable remarks on the history of chess, by that great man Dr. Hyde, in his Historia Shahiludii, p. 53—68. 12mo. Oxon, 1689. The common game of chess was not sufficiently difficult for a genius like Tamerlane's: he added several pieces, and altered the game by various complications. See the interesting Portrait du grand Tamerlan, traduit de l'Arab. par Vattier, p. 8. 4to. Paris, 1658.

CHAP. V. kept even with infidels.* Gentleness of manners, and a modest deportment, are every where enjoined. Forgiveness of injuries will meet with its reward; and mankind are exhorted to pray for, and not to curse, offenders. Not, perhaps, from the philosophical reflection, of practice weakening the influence of passive impressions, though strengthening our active habits, but a generous feeling for the nature of humanity, has made the Prophet declare hypocrisy and crime not to be chargeable to a man, if, when engaged in worldly pursuits, the ardour which he felt in his religious exercises be somewhat cooled. "It "is best to abstain from acts, the lawfulness of "which is doubtful." "Some lawful things must "be avoided, for fear of falling into doubtful and "unlawful." "Health, peace, and competence, "are all that are desirable."† Odious as were all religious differences in the eyes of a religious reformer, yet they do not violate the obligation of

Treaties with Infidels.

* Public faith need be kept, however, with alien or hostile infidels, only as long as is convenient to the Muselmans. War is the ordinance of God, and when peace does not advance the Muselman's interests, the treaty may be broken, on giving notice to the enemy; and if the enemy act with perfidy in a peace, the attack may be made without notice. Hedaya, ix. 3.

† Koran, ii. iv. v. Mischat, 2, 4, 17, 28, 164, 198, 482, 494, 537; ii. 276.

of humanity; and Muhammed declares, that a man is bound to maintain his parents when in want, although they should be idolators.* The benefit of active benevolence is inculcated, by the promise of "a reward for him who directs "to good, as great as for him who is the doer of "good;"—and its necessity, by the warning, "that he who does not, but who could prevent "the commission of sin, becomes a participator "of it." "Neither defame one another, nor call "one another by opprobrious appellations. In- "quire not too curiously into other men's "failings; neither let the one of you speak ill "of another in his absence."† CHAP. V.

In the order of our subject, the civil and criminal laws of the Muselmans, as contained in the Koran and Sonna, remain for consideration.‡

Legal

* But the Hedaya (iv. 14.) dissolves the obligation of maintenance, if there be a difference of religion, because in that case people are incapable of inheriting, and inheritance is the foundation of the obligation.

† Mischat, i. 57. ii. 141, 443, 483. Koran, xlix.

‡ The Koran and Sonna are the only written laws of Muhammedan countries. There are customary laws, or ancient usages, which Islamism has not suppressed. The ecclesiastics are the dispensers of the "written law," and the king and his officers of that which is unwritten. There have been frequent struggles between the two orders, each wishing to encroach on the other. Religious princes and priests have carefully observed the distinction; but despots and ambitious ecclesiastics have disputed, and kingly power has prevailed.

CHAP. V. Legal precepts are thinly scattered through these volumes of religion, morality, declamation, and narrative. Muhammed, a legislator as well as a prophet, made laws for a people rude and uncivilized, and whose mode of life was simple and uniform; it must not therefore be expected that the Muhammedan jurisprudence, as promulgated by its author, is a voluminous system, adapted to the infinite combinations of the social state of a polished people. Lest it should be thought that the division between some of the articles under this section and of those of the last is merely fanciful, we may remark, in anticipation of such censure, that there is a total contempt of order in the Moslem law books, and that so close is the connection between many ethical and civil institutions, that some subjects may be discussed with equal propriety under the title either of mortality or law.

Marriage and Polygamy.

III. 1. By the laws of the Jews the practice of polygamy was at least tolerated, if not openly allowed. But it entirely ceased after the return of that people from the Babylonish captivity; and indeed in earlier times it was not very common among them, for Soloman,* in his description of that wife whom he accounts a blessing to her

* Proverbs, xxxi, 10, 31.

her husband, represents her as altogether a *mater familias*, that is, the mistress and ruler of the whole household; which a wife in the state of polygamy can never be, as she is destined solely for her husband's pleasures, and has no permission to concern herself at all about domestic economy.* The lawgivers of Greece and of Rome expressly prohibited polygamy. Plato was a strenuous defender of the practice, but the polite states of Greece paid not to him that reverence as a lawgiver which they did as a philosopher, and regarded polygamy as a custom fit only for Barbarian and Asiatic governments.† In the vulgar notions respecting Muhammedan institutions no limits are set to personal indulgence,‡ but in truth, sensuality in either sex is punished by the civil magistrate; and the Koran is decisive, that every man must confine himself to the society of four women, whether they be wives or concubines.§ This limitation

* Michælis, Commentary on the Mosaic laws, vol. 2, art. 95.

† Taylor's Elements of Civil Law, p. 342. Read Cicero's reprobation of polygamy in his treatise de Orat. I, 40.

‡ ——— Notre loi, favorable aux plaisirs,
Ouvre un champ sans limite à nos vastes désirs.
ZAYRE, Act 1, Scene 2.

§ Koran iv. Reland, de Relig. Muham. p. 243. But a slave can have only two wives. See the note to p. 325, ante. Many of the laws of Muhammed betray the shortsighted-

CHAP. V. limitation was in consonance with the ancient usage of the patriarchal families, and we find in the works of the Talmudists and Rabbins, cited in Selden, de Uxore Hebraicâ, that the Jewish doctors also reduced the general permission of polygamy to the same number. In the countries of the west, since the establishment of Christianity, the only honourable connection between the sexes is that of marriage. But under the Mosaic law, the state of concubinage was recognized, and the violation of the greatest of female duties was punished less severely in the case of a concubine than of a wife, the former with stripes, the latter with death;* and we find, both by the Pandects and the Koran, a state mediate between those of marriage and prostitution was sanctioned by Justinian and Muhammed. The laws of Rome were in accordance with public opinion. Many

ness of their author to the extensiveness of their influence. The practice of polygamy would never be permitted by the founder of a general religion. Nature and policy are united against it, and although it is in accordance with the licentious manners of one part of the world, yet mankind at large hold it in abhorrence. Silence upon the subject, or an absolute prohibition of it, would have been the course of a man who wished to legislate for all people and all times.

* Leviticus, chap. 19, ver. 20.

Many of the best and wisest among the Romans tried the fidelity of their female companions, before they exalted them to the proud character of a Roman matron; but from the moment of the celebration of the marriage rites, the children of concubinage became legitimate: they were placed on a level with issue born in wedlock, and all shared alike the parents estate; but the fruits of casual prostitution had no provision or relief till a law of Valentinian permitted the father to leave them a small portion of his fortune.* The sole privilege which the laws of Muhammed give to a wife, but deny to a concubine, is that of dowry. In respect to reputation, their characters are without distinction, and the laws and opinions hold the children of both in the same consideration. The Moslem marriage rite is not burthened with ceremonies: the declaration of mutual consent before witnesses is all that is necessary. It is at the option of persons of both sexes, on arriving at puberty, to annul or confirm any matrimonial contract their guardian has made for them during minority; but if the marriage be contracted by fathers or grandfathers

CHAP. V.

* Taylor's Elem. p. 273. Harris' Justinian, i, 10. Cod. Theod. iv, 4 edit. Gothofred.

CHAP. V. thers no option remains to them.* In all marriages equality is necessary. The tribe or family, the religion† and moral character of both parties must be of equal merit. Equality is to be regarded with relation to property; and since consequence is assumed and contempt suffered from the respectability or meanness of worldly occupations, the trade or profession of the man is to be looked to. From the tenderness with which in the Muselman law slaves are often treated, their marriage with Moslems is lawful; except indeed that if a man be already married to a free woman he cannot marry a slave.‡ If a female slave marry at her master's instigation, and afterwards obtain her freedom, she may annul the contract or continue it. If the marriage had not the master's consent, the option does not exist.

We

* The child's guardians are the father or the paternal grandfather alone. In case of the death of these persons their nominee may act; and if they have made no nomination the judge is the guardian. The mother has no right of guardianship at all. Baillie, p. 320. From the Hedaya, however, it should seem to be the law that maternal relations may act in defect of the paternal.

† If either the father or mother are Muselmans, the children are Muselmans. Upon conversion to Islam of one of the parties, the magistrate may order a separation if the other party will not embrace the faith. Hedaya, ii, 5.

‡ Hedaya, i, ii, and iii.

CHAP. V.

Prohibited degrees of marriage.

We shall look in vain among the laws of nature for prohibited degrees of marriage. The doctrine of the *horror naturalis* is a fiction: it was raised by those moralists who were unable to mark the difference between nature and custom, or to discover the real policy of legislative enactments. The history of mankind confutes the doctrine. Nations the most polished, such as the Phœnicians, Egyptians, Persians, Athenians, and Lacedemonians,—people the most savage, the Tartars* and North American Indians, for example, have been accustomed to marriages among the nearest relations. Could Moses, who expressly informs us, that the author of nature (in whose power it was to have created the first married pair without any previous relation) did purposely create them in the closest possible connection, could he have thought that God had implanted in man any natural aversion from a marriage with her who is

 his

* They are joined together in matrimony to all in general, yea, even to their nearest kinsfolk except their mother, daughter, and sister by the mother's side; for they use to marry their sister by the father's side only, and also the wife of their father after his decease. The younger brother also, or some other of his kindred, is bound to marry the wife of his elder brother deceased. Carpyn in Hakluyt, vol. i. This last-mentioned circumstance deserves the attention of the student of the Mosaic law.

CHAP. V. his relation, and a part of his flesh? But the reason why marriages in certain degrees are prohibited, is derived from the care of men for the preservation of purity of manners; for if a common intercourse of love was introduced between near relations, and ratified by law and custom, the frequent opportunities of intimate conversation, especially during early youth, would introduce an universal dissoluteness and corruption. But as the customs of countries vary considerably, and open an intercourse, more or less restrained, between different families, or between the several members of the same family, we find that the moral precept, varying with its cause, is susceptible, without any inconvenience, of very different latitude, in the several ages and nations of the world. The lawgivers of Rome were never tempted by interest or superstition to multiply the forbidden degrees: but they inflexibly condemned the marriage of sisters and brothers, hesitated whether first cousins should be subjected to the same interdict, and revered the parental character of aunts and uncles. Upon this subject, the Mosaic and Muhammedan laws have a strong affinity; and as among the Romans, the right or privilege of kissing, which was only permitted among the nearest relations, once formed the distinguishing boundary; so among the Arabians,

Arabians, probably the veil, which might be dispensed with in the intercourse between some relations, answered the same purpose.* "Marry "not women," says Muhammed in the fourth chapter of the Koran, "whom your fathers "have had to wife. Ye are forbidden to marry "your mothers, and your daughters, and your "sisters, and your aunts, both on the father's "and on the mother's side, and your brother's "daughters, and your sister's daughters, and "your mothers-in-law, and your foster sisters, "and your wives' mothers, and your daughters-"in-law, and the wives of your sons; and you "are also forbidden to take to wife two sisters." This prohibition of marriage with foster sisters, and by consequence with her relatives, is an interesting part of Muhammedan jurisprudence. Her from whom the nursling has derived its earliest sustenance is treated with filial piety, and therefore the general rule of Moslem law is, that every thing is prohibited by reason of fosterage which is so by reason of kindred; and to so great a length is this doctrine carried, that when a woman nurses two children, male and

female,

* Paley's Moral Phil. book 3, chap. 5. Hume's England, reign Henry VIII. Michaelis on Mosaic Law, vol. 2, chap. 7. Sale's Prelim. Disc. sec. 6. and Taylor's Elements of Civil Law. p 314—339.

CHAP V. female, at the same time, matrimonial connexion between them is forbidden.*

Divorce. The power of the married pair to terminate their nuptual contract should seem to be absolute and unlimited. But considerations of humanity and policy in favour of the offspring, and the circumstance that the privilege of separation for every cause, real or imaginary, tends to mutual distrust and general licentiousness, have called upon the legislator to regulate and restrain the right. By the laws of the early Romans the husband's prerogative of divorce was without controul. For five centuries, however, it was not exercised, and "wonderful "was the harmony," says the Roman antiquarian, "which this inseparable union of interests "produced between married persons; while "each of them considered the inevitable "necessity by which they were linked together, "and abandoned all prospect of any other "choice or establishment." † As the Roman republic advanced in age, purity of morals declined; and the obligation of the marriage rite was gradually relaxed. The Christian Emperors, alarmed at our Saviour's explanation of the

* Hedaya, ii, 1. iii. Slavery cannot exist between relations within the prohibited degrees.

† Plutarch in vitâ Romul. Dionysius Hal. ii. 25. A. Gellius, x. 23.

the Mosaic law upon the subject, endeavoured to define and limit the grounds for divorce,* and the reproach of the Roman satirist† was removed. By the laws of Moses and of Muhammed, fancifulness as well as reason, justified the husband in dissolving the tenderest of all human connexions: and the verbal declarations of the Moslem husband are sufficient, though a writing of divorce is in general use. This nominal facility of repudiation is powerfully checked by its attendant ceremonies. Lest anger or some transient disgust should instigate the act, three successive declarations, and an interval of a month between every one of them (or at least a sufficient time to allow reflection to operate), are necessary before the divorce becomes irrevocable. But the most singular method, and yet the most practically wise in its effect of preventing divorce, is, the law that if a wife be once completely divorced, the husband cannot take her again, without her marriage to and divorce from another man.‡ Unlike the Romans and Athenians, who gave to both sexes equally the power of separation,§ CHAP. V.

* Heineccii Elem. Jur. Civ. xxiv. 2.

† ——— Sic fiunt octo mariti
Quinque per autumnos. Juv. vi. 20.

‡ Hedaya, iv. Savary's Koran, tom. i. p. 39, n. 2.

§ Montesquieu, L'Esprit des Lois, liv. xvi. chap. 16.

CHAP. V.

the Arabian Prophet indulges not the capriciousness of woman, and allows her to part from her husband only for the solid causes of his gross misconduct and absolute neglect of her. But as the circumstance rarely occurs, in the instance of a divorce at the instigation of the wife, of the law permitting her to enjoy her settlement, she is compelled to bear her unhappiness until she can persuade or provoke her husband to terminate their union.*

Dowry, infancy, and succession.

Before the days of Muhammed, the property of a deceased Arabian was divided between such of his relations as were able to bear arms; and the equitable share of the widow and orphan was unjustly taken from them by their ferocious brethren.† The dowry of a woman was also frequently seized. Muhammed vindicated the rights of the female sex, and appeared in this instance a wise and humane legislator. The laws relating to infancy, succession, and dowry, are stated in the following terms, in the fourth chapter of the Koran: "Give women their "dowry freely:‡ and give not unto those who are

* Chardin, tom. i, p. 169. Koran iv. Mischat, ii. 117.

† Pocock, Specimen, p. 337.

‡ A woman's dower, or that part of her husband's property which is settled on her at marriage, is entirely at her own disposal, and totally free from the controul and claims of

" are weak of understanding the substance CHAP. V.
" which God has appointed you to preserve for
" them; but maintain them thereout, and clothe
" them, and speak kindly unto them. And
" examine the religious state of the orphans,
" and their capacity for the management of
" their affairs, until they attain the age of mar-
" riage and maturity; but if ye perceive they
" are able to manage their affairs well, deliver
" their substance unto them, and waste it not
" extravagantly or hastily, because they will
" soon be of age.* Let him who is rich

 abstain

of her husband or his creditors. Hedaya, ii. And so great is her independence in this respect, that cases are of frequent occurrence of mothers assigning their dowry to their sons, who have compelled payment of it from their fathers. These regulations are in singular opposition to the general condition of women in Muhammedan countries.

* Puberty is established by circumstances, or by males attaining eighteen and females seventeen years of age. Hedaya, xxxv. 2. All acts in infancy are void unless sanctioned by the guardian. Purchases and sales by the infant and guardian are valid, but even their joint authority cannot legalize the infant's divorce or manumise his slave. The acts of slaves and lunatics are also null. A slave, however, is capable of the act of divorce. Discretion, and not mere age, is necessary for a person to be entrusted with the management of his affairs; and, according to the best opinions, property must not be given to a prodigal, that is to say, to a person who wastes his property for improper purposes even at the most advanced age. When a judge inhibits

CHAP. V. " abstain entirely from the orphan's estate; and " let him who is poor take thereout for the " trouble of their education what shall be " reasonable. Men and women ought to have " a part of what their parents and kindred " leave behind them when they die. God " hath commanded you in the following man- " ner respecting your children: A male shall " have as much as the share of two females; " but if your children are females only, and " more than two in number, they shall have " two third parts of what the deceased shall " leave; and if there be but one, she shall " have the half:" (and the remaining third part, or the remaining moiety of the estate, which is not here expressly disposed of, if the deceased leaves behind him no son, nor a father, goes to the public treasury). " And " the parents of the deceased shall have each " of them a sixth part of what he shall leave, " if he have a child; but if he have no child, " and his parents be his heirs, his mother " shall have one third part, and his father two " thirds. And if he have brethren, his mother " shall have a sixth part, after his bequests to " charitable

inhibits a prodigal, the prohibition must be publicly proclaimed, that other people may avoid all dealings with him. See the chapters on Inhibition in Baillie and the Hedaya.

" charitable institutions* and his debts are paid. CHAP. V.
" Ye know not whether your parents or your
" children be of greater use unto you. More-
" over, ye may claim half of what your wives
" shall have if they have no issue; but if they
" have issue, then ye shall have the fourth part
" of what they shall leave after their debts and
" charitable bequests are paid. They also shall
" have the fourth part of what ye shall leave, in
" case ye have no issue: but if ye have issue,
" then they shall have the eighth part of what
" ye shall leave. And if a man's or woman's
" substance be inherited by a distant relation,
" and he or she have a brother or sister, each
" of them shall have a sixth part. But if there
" be more than this number, they shall be
" equal sharers in a third part. If a man die
" without issue, and have a sister, she shall
" have the half of what he shall leave: and he
" shall be heir to her, in case she shall have no
" issue. But if there be two sisters, they shall
" have between them two-third parts of what
" he shall leave; and if there be several, both
" brothers and sisters, a male shall have as
" much

* The testator has absolute power only over a third part of his property. The other two-thirds must be divided among his family. Jones's Commentary on Al Sirajiyyah, p. 557. Works, 4to. edition. Bequests between Moslems and tributary infidels are valid. Hedaya, lii. 1. The early Moslems were more scrupulous. Mischat. ii. 69.

CHAP. V. "much as the portion of two females." In the fifth chapter, the power of testamentary disposition is acknowledged, and several directions are given for "making the will" in a solemn and decorous manner.*

Usury. The Koran is positive in its prohibition of usury. This transaction is defined to be the sale of one of two homogeneous articles estimable by weight or by measurement of capacity, or comprehended under one generic name or word, in exchange for the other at an inequality of rate. Where the articles are heterogeneous an inequality of rate is not usurious. The sale, for instance, (the Hedaya says) of two loads of barley in exchange for one load of wheat does not constitute usury, since these articles are not homogeneous. Usury cannot take place, that

* Such are the principal passages in the Koran on the law of succession. The importance of the subject in the estimation of Muhammedans, must apologize for the length of the extracts. "Learn the laws of Inheritance, and "teach them to the people, for they are one half of judicial "knowledge." The Muselman law of succession has been illustrated by Sirajuddin and Sharif, the Coke and Littleton of the east. Their works were translated from the Arabic into the Persian language, by order of Mr. Hastings: and this interesting part of knowledge has been opened to the English reader by Sir William Jones, in a book called Al Sirajiyyah. He has compressed the diffusive learning of his originals, and immortalized himself by his commentary on them.

that is, excess in sales is permitted between a father and son, master and slave, husband and wife, Muselman and Hurbee (an alien or hostile infidel), but it may take place between a Muselman and a Zimmee, or tributary infidel. Transactions similar to the *mutuum* and *commodatum* of the Roman lawyers are permitted in the Moslem code. In the Karz, and in the mutuum, the object (whether money and several other articles of commerce) is destined for the borrower's consumption, and he legally discharges the engagement, either by restoring it, or, if it is consumed, by substituting the same value according to a just estimation of number, weight, or measurement. In the Areeat, and in the *commodatum*, the borrower is obliged to restore the same identical thing with the mere usufruct of which he has been accommodated by the lender.* CHAP. V.

In regulating the pecuniary transactions of his followers, Muhammed endeavoured to reconcile the virtues of humanity and justice. Creditors are exhorted to forbearance and even forgiveness of obligations, but debtors are threatened with future punishment who wantonly violate their faith, and Muhammed refused to pray over those who had died without leaving Debts.

* On the subject of Usury Baillie's book is more satisfactory than the Hedaya.

CHAP. V. leaving means of paying their debts. He also excepted debt and hypocrisy from the general

Contracts. sanctification obtained by the killing of infidels.* Contracts should be made in writing in the presence of witnesses. All deceit in selling is forbidden, and the vendor must announce any defect in his goods. Each party should submit to a trifling loss rather than occasion it to the other. Ali said, "the Prophet has forbidden bargaining with a person whose poverty "compels him to sell his goods at a low rate: "humanity dictates the relief of him." An option for the performance of a contract exists with

* The general rule in Moslem countries respecting imprisonment for debt seems to be, that when a claimant establishes his right against a solvent debtor, the magistrate is to order the debtor to render it, and in case of non-compliance imprisonment must be awarded. The debtor's property may be sold by the magistrate's order for payment of the debt. The Cadi appears to have a discretionary power with respect to the period of imprisonment. Hedaya, xx. 1, xxxv. 3. A debtor who has established his indigence cannot be imprisoned for debt. Some lawyers contend that imprisonment is legal if the debtor has, for vicious purposes, wasted his means. The plea of indigence will not be allowed if the debtor professes any art or calling. He may be compelled to work in discharge of his debt. A number of the lawyers (ductores dubitantium) say, that an indigent person, on being sued and threatened with imprisonment, may lawfully deny the debt, and even swear to the non-existence of it, with a mental reservation and intention of discharging it when in his power. Baillie, p. 194.

with both parties till either of them has left the place of commerce. The purchaser having ultimately concluded his contract, should repeat his profession of faith, and glorify God. The traditions insist on the propriety of liberality and mutual mild dealing. Merchants of honesty and veracity will be raised at the last day with the prophets. CHAP. V.

Monopoly is a practice highly disapproved, and pronounced abominable. The articles to which this prohibition extends are wheat, barley, dates, raisins, oil, and, according to some authorities, salt; all which being of necessary consumption, the hoarding them in order to enhance their value is followed by most prejudicial effects to mankind, and should be discouraged by law. Except in cases where the public welfare is concerned, the sovereign must leave to the merchant the fixing of prices. The Cadi may order monopolizers to sell their superfluities, and may punish them in case of disobedience. But, if for the protection of the poor from a combination of victuallers, the Cadi, with the assistance of men of ability and discernment, regulate the prices, and grain should still be sold above the rate, the Cadi must confirm the sale. He seems, however, to have the power of selling the grain belonging

CHAP. V. longing to monopolizers without their consent.*

Murder. III. 2. The laws of Muhammed respecting murder deserve consideration. In the infancy of society, when the civil magistrate has but little authority, private retaliation is necessary. The *Goel*, or blood avenger, existed therefore among the Jews before the days of Moses, and the *Tair*, in the Arabic language, means the nearest relation of a person murdered, whose right and duty it was to avenge his kinsman's death with his own hand. Among the Arabs, whose national spirit may be said to dwell in their poems, the finest and most sublime pieces of sacred verse are devoted to the praises of the blood avenger; and wherever the poet means to celebrate the virtues of his hero, he never fails to dwell upon the apparently incongruous topics of his hospitality and his thirst of revenge. The Tair was under no necessity of sending the murderer a challenge: for artifice, treachery, and even assassination were lawful in avenging blood. The Arabian legislator endeavoured to mitigate this horrible custom. He acknowledges

* Koran, chap. ii. ad. fin. Mischat, ii. 7, 8, 10, 29, 32. Baillie, p. 29, 32. Hedaya, xliv. Zoroaster said, "There "is not a greater crime than to buy grain and delay selling "it till it becomes dear, that it may be sold for a greater "price."

ledges the right of retaliation, but recommends the blood avenger to be satisfied with a moderate compensation in money. This enactment reflects no praise on Muhammed. He ought, like Moses, who legislated for a people that very much resembled the Arabs, to have recognized the privilege of the Goel, but to have commanded that a judicial enquiry should always precede the exercise of his revenge. Justice would by these means have been satisfied, and civil laws would have prevented moral evil. This recommendation of Muhammed has never been observed, for the acceptance of a sum of money on such an occasion is in opposition to the Arabian maxims of honor.* The Moslem law books attach the punishment of death to a wilful murderer,† except the Goel forgives or takes a compensation for the offence. Fines, whether of camels, slaves, or money, atone for

* Michaelis, x. art. 134. The injured and incensed family of the murdered person are allowed to exercise their revenge, to pardon the offender, or to compromise the affair with him. The substitution of private for public justice is a formidable evil in most Muselman countries.

† The master is armed with the power of life and death over his slave. Hedaya, xvi. 4. Under the Mosaic law the master could not with impunity kill his slave: whether the punishment was capital or not seems a doubtful point. Syntag. Comm. i, 51. Gott. 1759.

CHAP. V.

for the crime of homicide in all its varieties.* This legislative provision has been nearly as inefficacious as that against murder. Moses, on the contrary, knowing that if the manslayer were allowed to retain his liberty his blood would be shed by the Goel, wisely and humanely permitted him to live in a consecrated city of refuge till the death of the high priest, by which time, it was hoped, the revenge of the Goel could have subsided.†

Prohibition of Infanticide.

Infanticide has been correctly termed the prevailing and stubborn vice of antiquity. The Egyptians and Thebans were perhaps the only people who carried not to this abominable excess their exercise of parental power.‡ Solon permitted it to the Athenians.§ The moralist, whom a great statesman has honored with the title of "inimitable," mentions in more than one

* But if a person strike at any part of another, with intent to wound him, and hit another part, and the wounded man die, the penalties of wilful murder are incurred. Hedaya, xlix, 1, 1. In their administration of law, the Turks of the present day make sophistical applications of general principles, and Dr. Clarke relates a case of "Homicide by "implication," where a pecuniary penalty was levied on a native of Cos, because a young man poisoned himself for love of his daughter. Travels, part 2, sec. 2. ch. 8.

† Numbers, xxxv, 9, &c.

‡ Diod. Siculus, i, 80. Ælian, Var. ii, 7.

§ Sextus Empiricus, i, xxiv. p. 154, Paris, 1621.

one place in his moral works the act with complacency,* and the theoretically virtuous Seneca coolly speaks of the destruction of deformed and imperfect children among other proper sacrifices.† The Roman republicans exposed their infants without sin or shame. As manners became refined, the Pompeian law prohibited the mother from destroying her children, and the father's prerogative was terminated by the Theodocian code.‡ Before the days of Muhammed, the birth of a female child was accounted by the Arabs a misfortune, and the feelings of the father were not shocked by inhuming his daughter alive. Muhammed is eloquent and energetic against this barbarous practice, and with all the collected authority of a divine, a moralist, and a legislator, he commands the preservation of all children that may be born.§ The Muhammedan doctors have adopted their masters spirit of humanity, and declared it to be a moral duty to preserve the life of a found ing likely to perish. The infant becomes free, for, CHAP. V.

* Plutarch de fraterno amore et de amore prolis, tom. 2. p. 674, 697. Opera moralia, Oxon. 1795. Lord Grenville's preface to Lord Chatham's Letters to Lord Camelford.

† Seneca de ira, i, p. 15.

‡ Pandectæ, xlviii, 8, 9. Cod. Theod. ix. 16.

§ Koran, vi, xvi, xvii and lxxxi.

CHAP. V. say the Orientalists, freedom is a quality originally inherent in man; his maintenance is defrayed from the public treasury, and if he die without heirs, the public enjoy his estate. A foundling discovered by a tributary infidel in a Muselman territory must be educated in Islamism, but if in an infidel village, church, or synagogue, he cannot enjoy that privilege.*

Adultery. It appears that the old Arabs punished the parties to the crime of adultery by immuring them till they died. But this cruel doom was mitigated by Muhammed, and according to the traditions, he awarded stoning to death as the new punishment for the woman. If the male offender be married, he is liable to the same consequences; but if he be single, 100 lashes and banishment are awarded.† The evidence of four witnesses is necessary for conviction. No satisfactory commentary has yet been made upon a regulation, that is apparently so absurd. It is singular, that in Arabia the act of adultery is not considered to reflect so much disgrace upon the husband, as upon the parents and brothers of the woman. It is said that an husband may resort to the civil

* Hedaya, book, 10. The children of a man born of his female slave are free, book 5, chap. 1. The mother too cannot be sold and is free upon her master's death, chap. 7.

† Mischat, 2, 182.

civil remedy of a divorce, but that the relation of consanguinity is perpetual; public opinion, therefore, allows a parent or brother to kill his offending daughter or sister, but the husband is never permitted to vindicate his rights. In the Turkish empire, the magistrate never punishes a man who kills his wife and her lover in the commission of this domestic offence.* CHAP. V.

"If a man or woman steal," says the Koran,† "cut off their hands, in retribution for what they "have committed." The laws of Justinian are, in this particular, far more wise than those of Muhammed. The Novells,‡ from a wise consideration that poverty is the general temptation to the crime, and that maiming would deprive a man for ever of all possible exertions of industry, have expressly forbidden the amputation of the offending part. Amputation, according to the practice of the best Muhammedan courts, is not to be inflicted, unless the value of the stolen articles amounts to dinars or forty shillings. The goods Theft.

* Arvieux, Voyage en Palestine, chap. 19. Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, p. 39; and D'Ohsson, tom. 4, p. 347. Whether the husband may execute summary justice seems doubtful. Hedaya, vii, 6. Mischat. ii, 127.

† Chap. 5.

‡ Novells, 134. chap. 13.

CHAP. V. secretly stolen or the penalty of amputation does not attach to the offence: they must also be in *custody*, that is in security from the hands of other people. Thus, a breach of trust is not punished as a theft, for the trust property was not in custody of the proprietor. A saying of the Prophet, "the hand shall not be cut off for stealing dates, palm-fruits or victuals," extends to all fruits, &c. in their nature quickly perishable. This severe punishment is not to be inflicted for stealing musical instruments,* for they are mere idle amusements; nor wine, for property cannot be had in any thing prohibited; nor a crucifix or chess board, for the thief might have taken them with a view to destroy them; nor a free-born infant, because free people are not property, and the thief might plead that he took it when it was crying in order to appease it or to deliver it to the nurse. By a singular regulation, if the property belong to a father, mother, or child, or to any relation within the prohibited degrees of marriage, the punishment must not be inflicted, because the father, mother, or child have a mutual right of usufruct

* The stealing a flute made of sinnan (a wood like lignum vitæ), ivory, ebony, or box, is punishable, as being an object of custody and not of a common nature.

usufruct of each other's property. The exception likewise extends to husbands, wives, and slaves, for the thief is, by custom, allowed to enter the place of custody, that is, the house of the proprietor. Burglary is punishable; but if a thief has broken into an house, and delivers goods to his accomplice without, his hand is not to be amputated, for the thief did not carry out the property, and the property before his coming out fell into the possession of another. The accomplice is not guilty, for he did not enter the place of custody. In all cases where the penalty attaches, the right hand is to be struck off for the first offence, and the left foot for the second. Imprisonment is the penalty for reiterated offences. Highway robbers lose their right hand and left foot if the property seized by them be considerable. Those who commit murder on the highway are put to death, even although the blood-avenger should forgive them. The robber and murderer also is punished with immediate death or crucifixion, with or without amputation at the discretion of the judge. Those who are taken without having effected their intentions, are imprisoned till they repent. The whole of a band of robbers are answerable for the acts of any one of h members.* CHAP. V.

* Hedaya, viii. and xlvi.

CHAP. V.

Retaliation for personal injuries.

The principle of retaliation for personal injuries has been adopted by people in days of refinement, as well as in their night of barbarism. The laws of Moses acknowledge retaliation to be consuetudinary,* and approve of its application to various cases. Solon declared, whoever puts out the eye of a one-eyed person, shall forfeit both his own.† The language of the twelve tables is, Si membrum rupsit, ni cum eo paicit, talio esto. But in the course of ages, the lex talionis became obsolete, and the Institutes of Justinian‡ adjudge a pecuniary equivalent for a personal injury. In the second and fifth chapters of the Koran, retaliation is allowed; but in most Muhammedan countries, the spirit, rather than the letter of the law, has been followed: and the expression, "eye for eye, tooth for tooth," has received the plain and rational construction, that every man must be punished according to the extent of his guilt. The circumstances of society have required, that an extended interpretation should be given to the Prophet's command of atonement for injury. Hence we find in the writings of Muhammedan lawyers, various regulations necessary for the preservation of social order; and mankind are made

* Exodus, xxi. 24, &c.

† Petiti leges Atticæ, vii. 3. Paris, 1635.

‡ Instit. iv. iv. 7.

made responsible, not only for their overt acts, but for any injuries which may be occasioned by their carelessness, obstinacy, or wilful neglect.* CHAP. V.

Laws of Evidence.

The laws of evidence in Moslem countries are as follows:—The Koran declares, "Let not witnesses withhold their testimony when it is demanded of them:" and also, "Conceal not your testimony, for whoever does so is an offender." But in cases which induce corporal punishment, it is held that witnesses may give, or refrain from giving, their testimony; for among the traditions of Muhammed is the charitable opinion, "whoever conceals the vices of his brother "Muselman, shall have a veil drawn over his "own crimes in the two worlds by God." In all criminal cases, except adultery, the testimony of two men is sufficient. In matters of property, or the common transactions of life, two men, or one man and two women, can prove a fact. The moral character of the witnesses is to be regarded: thus the testimony

* Hedaya, xlix. l. Those admirable lawyers, the Turks, made the Greeks of Samos pay for the loss of a frigate wrecked on the rocks of that island. The Samians regretted they had not hoisted lights; but the Turkish Admiral said, "*You will admit one argument: would the wreck have happened if your island had not been in the way?*" A rare application this of the principle, that no right must be enjoyed to the prejudice of other people. Clarke's Travels, part 2. sec. 1. p. 193, note, 2d edit.

CHAP. V.

of drunkards, gamesters, and usurers, is inadmissible. Evidence in *favour*, whether of a son or grandson, or of a father or grandfather, cannot be received. Uncles and brothers are not excluded from giving evidence for or against each other, for the property and immunities of these classes of relations are separate, and each has no power over that of the other. The Sonnites reject all testimony between an husband and wife; but the Shiites adopt a different course. Slaves cannot be witnesses. The reason for this absurd and inconvenient regulation is a curious one. "The testimony of slaves is "not admissible, because testimony is of an au- "thoritative nature; and as a slave has no "authority over his own person, he can have "none over others." A master cannot testify in favour of his slave. Infidels (whether hostile or tributary), and also apostates, cannot bear witness in a cause where a Muselman is a party.* An oath by a Moslem is not binding on his conscience, unless it be taken in the express name of the Almighty, and even that is incomplete, unless the witness, after having given his evidence, swear again by the same awful name that he

* In some cases, however, not involving the punishments of death or retaliation, the evidence of Infidels is admissible. Where their evidence is received, the Jews must be sworn by the Pentateuch, and the Christian, by the Gospel.

he has spoken nothing but the truth. Apprehension of punishment in a future life is the chief restraint on perjury. In all criminal cases (except a false accusation of adultery, which is punished by stripes), a fine is the only penalty, even for having falsely sworn away the life of a man. In suits relating to property, public exposition, in a manner similar to the pillory, stigmatises the bearer of false witness. These legislative enactments are either in their own nature insufficient for their purposes, or public opinion prevents the execution of them; for it is a lamentable fact, that perjury is a prevailing crime in most Muselman countries, and is regarded with less abhorrence by Muhammedans in general, than by Christians.*

The Moslem Hierarchy and Magistracy.

At the close of our view of the theological, moral, and juridical system of the Muselmans, it may be expected that some account should be given of the institutions for the due performance of religious rites, and the administration of law. To the Mosques, readers of the public prayers, and preachers of divinity are attached; but the religion of Islamism is not burthened with sacrifices, and its ceremonies can be performed by any individual: the ecclesiastics, therefore, in their sacerdotal capacity, have not much power. But

* Hedaya, books 6, 21. Sir William Jones's Charges to the Grand Jury at Calcutta.

CHAP. V. But as the religious and juridical code is the same, the Moslem clergy are expounders of the law. Such divines as wish to practice jurisprudence, remain in the schools and colleges a longer time than if they are merely intended for the service of the Mosque. The influence of the ecclesiastical judges on society, must depend on the exercise of their learning and talents; but in general they have been possessed of great weight, and have formed a protection to the people from arbitrary rule. The Moslem law books recognize three general classes of judicial officers; Muftis, Cadis, and Mujtahids.* It is the duty of the Mufti to apply the law, whether religious, civil, or criminal, to particular cases; to resolve

* The names and powers of the different ecclesiastical judges vary in Moslem countries. The principles upon which the matter rests, is alone the object of this work; but it may be remarked, that in India the Cadi is the supreme civil judge. In Turkey, the Mufti is the nominal chief magistrate; but he has no tribunal, and never decides causes, except those of the greatest moment. The Cadi is the ordinary judge. In Persia, the Shaikh-ul-islam is the principal administrator of law: there is one of these officers in every city, and a Cadi in subordination to him. The towns and villages have judicial officers, according to the importance of the place. The chief priests, or Mujtahids, have a great, though undefined power over the courts of law. The judges continually submit cases to them. In all Moslem courts of importance, the Cadi is assisted by several moollahs, or learned men.

solve all doubts which may be put to him on the written applications of individuals. But if the Koran and traditions are silent on the subject, the Mufti must reply, that the sacred books afford him no information. The Cadi is the officer who gives the law operation and effect. His decisions are regulated by the Koran, or the Traditions, or esteemed Commentaries on those books. When a novel case occurs, he exercises his own judgment. The Mujtahids are men who are skilled in a more than ordinary degree in legal matters, and are a court of appeal from the Cadi, or ordinary judge, in solemn and important causes. The Moslem writers are earnest in dissuading people from soliciting from their sovereigns the difficult and responsible office of Cadi, and mention with applause the names of those who have suffered imprisonment rather than accept it. Some of the lawyers of old time even say, that the acceptance of it without compulsion is abominable; founding their opinion on the declaration of the Prophet, that "Whoever is appointed "Cadi, suffers the same torture as an animal "whose throat is mangled, instead of being cut "with a sharp knife." The Cadi must sit openly in a mosque, for the execution of his office. His own house is not an objectionable place, so that there be free access to the people. The impartial administration of justice is provided for by many wise regulations. The Cadi must

CHAP. V.

must not receive any presents, except from relations or intimate friends; and even if these persons have any cause depending before him, it is incumbent on him to refuse their presents. He may attend public and general entertainments, but he must refuse an invitation to a private one, for the acceptance of it would render him liable to suspicion. He must behave with equal attention to both parties in a suit. He is forbidden from speaking in private to either of them, or from prompting or instructing a witness, by saying to him (for instance), "Is not your evidence to this or that effect?" The determination of a judge in favour of his father, mother, wife, or child, is void; because evidence in their favour being unlawful, a determination in their favour is liable to the same objections. A determination, however, *against* any of these relations is valid, because evidence against them is accepted, since it is liable to no suspicion.

Reflections on the value of the Muhammedan Religion.

We have now completed our general view of the fabric of credence and morals which triumphed over the established religions of Asia and Africa; and however deep may be our regret that it was reared by means abhorrent to human nature, yet as its grand principle is more pure and sublime than any which the uninspired reason of man had ever devised, it must be confessed that Islamism is, in respect of its theology, more intitled to praise than the other false religions which have guided the passions of mankind.

kind. The popular systems of ancient times— the creeds, too, of Brahma and Zoroaster—were disgraced by the number of their gods. Some, indeed, of their followers may have concluded, that the prevailing polytheism was a corrupt, and not an original doctrine; but the Supreme Being whom their enlarged understandings imagined, was only a metaphysical abstraction, or an impulse of fate; not like the God of the Muselmans, omniscient, independent, energetic. A rabble of flagitious, licentious deities, or personifications of the powers of nature, or principles of good and evil, were adored by the multitude. In the worship of these gods, priestcraft exercised a tremendous sway. It is a creditable part of Muhammed's religion, that although there are ministers for the decorous performance of religious rites, yet it is not oppressed by the crowd of men, who, under the names of Brahmins and Magi, directed the consciences of the superstitious to the gratification of their own vicious ambition and sensual passions. As the rational enthusiasm of Muhammed confessed and adored the unity of God, it is wonderful that there is such a large portion of folly in the other parts of his theology. By his system of angels and genii, he presumed to trace the course of Providence, the problem justly said by Bacon to be inexplicable, with respect to the

CHAP. V.

"opus

CHAP. V. "opus quod operatur Deus a principio usque "ad finem." His voluptuous paradise, borrowed from the Persian and Indian schools, is offensive to the philosopher and the Christian; but their censure should be somewhat mitigated, on reflecting that it could not be reached without the previous practice of morality: and as it includes the awful idea of the responsibility of man, we must confess, that its conduciveness to virtue is far superior to that of the philosophical theories of the ancients.*

If

* The sentiments of the Peripatetics on the soul's immortality are totally unintelligible. Cudworth, i. 66, 500, ii. 1171: and no wonder, for their founder, Aristotle, asserts, in one place of his Nicomachian Ethics, the doctrine of annihilation; and in another, seems to deny it. The Stoics—diu mansuros aiunt animos, semper negant—an absurd opinion, as Cicero well argues, for they admit the soul's existence independently of the body, which is the only difficulty in the question. Tusc. Quæst. i. 32. As it might be expected, in the writings of the Academies there are various opinions. Cicero, the most illustrious of this sect, seems every where, in his serious works and in his orations, anxiously to desire to believe that the soul is eternal, yet is confused by the uncertain deductions from reason. The Pagan future state he every where ridicules. Pro Cluent, 61, 62. In his Epistles he appears to doubt. Most of these Epistles were, however, of a consolatory nature, and addressed to Romans, who thought that the soul was mortal—the general opinion in Cicero's time. In these Epistles, Cicero does not deliver his sentiments more freely than in his philosophical works; for if M. P. Cato and Cæsar did (as Sallust narrates)

If we view only the theology and morality of the Muhammedan system, it may be thought that Islamism is more conducive to happiness than any other false religion to which mankind have ever submitted; but if we look deeper into the subject, a different conclusion will be drawn. Intolerance of other systems is a great stain on the religion of Arabia. Confucius and Brahma respected the superstitions of their fellow-creatures: Zoroaster and Muhammed were inexorable persecutors. Religious unity was to be obtained at the expence of humanity. The CHAP. V.

narrates) declare in open Senate, that there was no state after death, Cicero could, without offence, deliver the same doctrine in works intended for the learned. Pythagoras, Plato, and Socrates, taught the eternity of the soul. Tus. Quæst. i. 17. 30. But what did this doctrine amount to?—ideas of the responsibility of man, and a future state of rewards and punishments? No. Cicero tells us that the wisest philosophers maintained the soul was a part of the divine essence. De Divin. l. 49. Tusc. Quæst. v. 13. Pythagoras, Plato, Empedocles, and most of the Italic philosophers, thought that the souls of gods, of men, and of brutes, are of the same nature; and there is one spirit which pervades the universe (whether the Deity or an emanation from him) into which they all resolve, and with which they are united. Sextus Empiricus, ix. 127. Tim. and Phæd. M. Antoninus de seipso. ii. 10. Seneca. Epist. xcii. 31, 32. This revolving of the human soul into the soul of the world, destroys all personality, as much as all individuality is lost by the dissolution of the body, and its consequent junction with the material world.

CHAP. V. The making charity to man depend on speculative opinions, has given an haughty and stern demeanour to the Moslems in their communion with the rest of the world. It has prevented all free intercourse with other nations, and preserved through all ages Muhammedan Asia in its pristine state. That war is an ordinance of God, and that success is a mark of divine favour, are the natural principles of people whose religion was founded by the sword.* One circumstance runs through the whole course of Muhammedan history. Submission has been accounted a religious virtue, till a successful war proves that violence has been approved of by heaven; but in all the shocks of empires, which ambition or fanaticism have occasioned, the forms of government have remained unaffected.

* Some superficial writers on the subject of the Muhammedan religion have commended Muhammed for his toleration! A few passages in the Koran might indeed make bigotry blush: but such passages do not accurately represent the character of the religion. The truth is, that (like all other reformers) while Muhammed was an humble preacher he granted liberty of conscience; but when he became a powerful prince, the only choice to those to whom his religion was offered, was submission or tribute. Those portions of the Koran, therefore, which were revealed at Mecca, breathe the language of toleration, while those which were revealed at Medina, speak nothing but persecution.

affected. Any change in the political or social condition of the world is contrary to a religion which is thought to be a perfect system of theology, morals, and jurisprudence. Impiety would attach to him who suggested any improvement; who wished, for instance, to put an end to polygamy, and to soften the character of men by restoring woman to her proper station in society. In the despotic governments of the East, the gradations of public and domestic life present only the two characters of tyrant and slave. Little low passions must be engendered, and noble virtues destroyed. Injustice and oppression will be opposed by falsehood and cunning, and habits of deceit are gained. Justice can never be well administered in a society where force is paramount, and revenge and other bad passions of our nature are unavoidably called into action. CHAP. V.

Lordly pride, savageness, and ferocity, must be the strong and prominent features of the character of men who are influenced by a religion which breathes war and persecution. The stamp of divinity and eternity, which Islamism fixes on every institution, has preserved the principles of Asiatic despotism, and the evils consequential to such a state of society are sufficiently numerous and dreadful to pre-

CHAP. V.

vent, or at least to check, the practice of morality, however pure and beautiful such morality may be.

Muhammedan sects.

Neither the terrors of the sword nor the thunders of the pulpit could establish that unanimity of sentiment, which Muhammed professed so ardently to desire. If the various characters of the human mind produce so many different views of the same appearances, and so many interpretations of the same truths, we cannot wonder at the diversities of error and the wanderings of fanaticism. The sects of Muhammedanism have been as numerous as those of Christianity, and the history of the mosque presents as melancholy a view of the weakness of the human intellect and the pride of the human heart, and the same moral lessons on the necessity of charity and mutual respect, as are afforded by the annals of the church. A detail of the history of these sects might be extended through volumes, and it is consistent only with the general purposes of the present work to mark a few of their leading differences.

Orthodoxy and heresy are merely relative terms, and charity abhors the illiberal application of names. Temporal power, and not spiritual truth, confers the distinction. The word Sonnite, or orthodox traditionist, was adopted by the enemies

enemies of Ali and his family, and his feeble party were branded with the name of Shiites or sectaries. Political disputes have been a great cause of division among the Moslems. The real or fancied union of church and state among Christians has not produced more internal warfare and distress, than the misery which has resulted from the close and intimate connection of political and spiritual concerns in the mosque. The high doctrine of indefeasible and hereditary right is upheld by the Shiites in all the pride of bigotry. In consonance with this principle, Ali, the fourth Caliph, the cousin and son-in-law of Muhammed, ought to have been the immediate successor of the Prophet, and the three Caliphs preceding him, Abu-Beker, Omar, and Othman, were therefore usurpers. But the Sonnites maintain, that the nomination of spiritual and temporal chiefs is a power which can only reside in those who are to be governed. The Shiites call Ali the vicar of God, and estimate his authority as of almost equal weight with that of Muhammed himself: but the Sonnites insist on the supremacy of Muhammed over all created beings, and on the merit of the four first Caliphs, Abu-Beker, Omar, Othman, and Ali, in the order of their several reigns. Both the Sonnites and the Shiites admit the authority of tradition, but CHAP. V.

CHAP. V. receive different collections of them. The Sonnites allow traditionary credit to the companions of their Prophet, also to the four first Caliphs, and such of their contemporaries as were learned and intelligent, as well as to such of their successors as have verified their reports of traditions. The spirit of discord appeared in Arabia immediately on the death of Muhammed: schisms multiplied in every quarter; but the great mass of believers agreed at last in recognizing the authority of four eminent doctors of law, Haneefa, Malik, Shaffei, and Hanbal. These sages lived in the first and second centuries of the Hegira, and have been acknowledged as Imams or high priests. They are called the four pillars of the Sonnite faith, and have separate chapels in the temple of Mecca. Although their followers differ in various points of morality, jurisprudence, and forms of worship, yet their dogmatical religion is the same, and they tolerate and respect each other. The authority of Haneefa is paramount in Turkey, Tartary, and Hindustan. Malik is only known in these days in Barbary and the northern states of Africa. Shaffei has a limited influence over the sea coast of the Indian peninsula and the eastern islands. The authority of Hanbal seems to be no where great. The Shiites give no authority to the traditions of the three first Caliphs,

Caliphs, nor to any other companions of Mu- CHAP. V.
hammed, excepting such as were partisans of Ali. They extend their faith and obedience, however, to the admission of all traditions of their Prophet's sayings and actions, which they believe to have been verified by any one of the twelve Imams, as well as to the precepts and examples of these Imams themselves. These twelve Imams are Ali, Hassan, Hossein, and the nine following immediate descendants of Muhammed. The last of these, the Imam Mehdy, is supposed by the Shiites to be still living, though invisible, it having been predicted of him, that he will return to judge and rule the world; to punish sinners, and those who have departed from the true faith; and to restore and confirm the genuine truths of religion, with piety, justice, and every other virtue. The high title of Imam, the Shiites think, cannot be given to any other person: but the Sonnites resolutely argue that there must be always a visible Imam, a father of the church, or a spiritual and temporal chief of Islamism. It was long maintained, that the Imam must be descended from the Arabian tribe of the Koreish; but the Emperors of Constantinople have for three centuries been the Muhammedan Imams, and the want of heritable blood was supplied by the renunciation of the dignity to

CHAP. V. Selim the First, by Muhammed the Twelfth, the last Caliph of the house of Abbas; and by the delivery to the Sultan of the keys of the temple of Mecca, by the Scheriff. Both the Caliph and the Scheriff were of the tribe of the Koreish, the former of the Abassidan, the latter of the Fatimite branch.

No wars which ever desolated the Christian world have caused half the bloodshed and woe, or been so strongly stamped with the character of implacable animosity, as have the political and religious controversies of these Muhammedan sectaries. The history of every age of the Hegira teems with details of horror, and the Turks and Persians, the representatives of the two sets of opinions, have in most ages emulated each other in mutual detestation and hatred. They have agreed only in a principle of discord. In the rancour of their feuds, not only were the Christians and Jews held in comparative esteem, but the destruction of a single individual of the adverse party, has been accounted a more meritorious action than the slaughter of seventy individuals of any other description. In the present days, however, the Persians have mitigated their religious prejudices, and cease to call their erring brethren infidels. "They are believers," they say, "because they recognise the holy mission "of Muhammed, and worship God; but they "have

" have forfeited their claim to be denominated " faithful, by their adoption of those who re- " fused allegiance, and acted with cruelty to- " wards the cousin, the daughter, and the lineal " descendants of the holy Prophet." The Sonnites are not equally charitable in their sentiments respecting the Shiites, and a few only of the ablest Sonnite doctors have acknowledged the followers of Ali to be Muhammedans.*

* D'Ohsson, Tab. Gen. tom. 1, p. 25, 95, and 270. Malcolm's Persia, vol. 2, chap. 22, and p. 381. Harrington on the Authorities of Muselman Law, Asiatic Researches, vol. 10. Hamilton's Prelim. Dis. to the Hedaya, p. 23, &c. Chardin, tom. 2, p. 314, 336, &c. Niebuhr, Voyage en Arabie, tom. 2, p. 208, &c.

CHAP. VI.

THE LITERATURE AND SCIENCES OF THE SARACENS AND TURKS.

CHAP. VI.

General Remarks on Oriental Literature.

WHOEVER travels in Asia, especially if he be conversant with the literature of the countries through which he passes, must naturally remark the superiority of European talents. The observation, indeed, is at least as old as Alexander; and though we cannot agree with the sage preceptor of that ambitious prince, that "the "Asiatics are born to be slaves," yet the Athenian poet seems perfectly in the right, when he represents Europe as a sovereign princess, and Asia as her handmaid: but if the mistress be transcendantly majestic, it cannot be denied that the attendant has many beauties and some advantages peculiar to herself. If reason be the grand prerogative of the people in the Western world, the Asiatics have soared to the loftiest heights in the sphere of imagination.* When we read the praises which Eastern scholars so warmly

* Jones's Dissertation on the Literature of Asia.

warmly bestow upon the heroic verses of Fer- CHAP. VI.
dousi, the didactic strain of Sadi, and the lyre of Hafiz, who is there that does not lament his ignorance of the great originals, and think with regret, that most of the translations which we possess of Oriental poetry, have been performed by men of little genius or taste? Yet even through the dark medium of a wretched version, we can often discover an animation of description, a boldness of metaphor, and a strength of expression, which nothing but a mind prejudiced by one standard of excellence can fail to admire: and if the manuscripts which are within the reach of Oriental scholars were stripped of their thick coat of fable, and published with the usual advantages of illustrations and notes, a new and ample field would be opened for speculation: we should obtain a more extensive insight into the history of the human understanding; we should acquire a new fund of images and similitudes; and a variety of excellent compositions would be brought to light, which future scholars might explain, and future poets imitate.*

If

* Traité sur la Poésie Orientale. Jones's Works, vol. 5. p. 447, 4to. Thus, if the treatises on Algebra, which Mr. Colebrooke has lately translated from the Sánscrit into English, had been translated earlier, some addition would have been made to the means and resources of Algebra, for the general

CHAP. VI. If the Asiatic nations of the present day appear to be overspread with the shade of ignorance, the times have been, when many parts of our boasted science were familiarly taught in Egypt and Hindustan. It is true, the results of the Calcutta Society have shewn many of the received opinions on the merit of Oriental literature to have been erroneous; yet it should be remembered, that the expectations of the world had been unlimited, and the history of the philosophy and religion of Asia is still incomplete. Some facts, however, appear to have been established. The systems of the philosophers of old were not originally formed in Greece. The six philosophical schools, whose principles are explained in the Dersana Sastra, comprise all the metaphysics of the old Academy, the Stoa, the Lyceum. Pythagoras and Plato penetrated into the mysteries of the priests of Egypt and the Magi of Persia.* The works of the Sage, which are

general solution of problems which have been re-invented, or perfected, in the last two centuries in France and England Prelim. Diss. p. 2, 4. It has been proved, that the Hindus had made a wonderful progress in some parts of Algebra; that in the indeterminate analysis, they were in possession of a degree of knowledge, which was in Europe first communicated to the world by Bachet and Fermat, in the seventeenth, and by Euler and La Grange, in the eighteenth century. Asiatic Res. vol. 12. p. 160.

* Cicero Tusc. Quest. 4. 19, 25. De Finibus, 5. 25. The Pythagorean, Manichean, and other famous systems of reli-

are said to contain a system of the universe, founded on the principle of attraction and the central position of the sun, are well known by the learned Hindus.* The annals of Asiatic philosophy, and particularly in their connection with Grecian letters, are still incomplete; the claims, for instance, of the Hindus to the invention of what is called the syllogistic theory of Aristotle, are yet in question. The history of literature abounds with other rich and interesting subjects. The torch of science has been frequently

gion and philosophy, may clearly be deduced from the Hindus. See Mr. Halhed's translation of the Upaneeshad; or Commentaries upon, and Paraphrases of, the Vedas. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 5658; and also Bartholomæus, Mus. Borg. Velitris Codd. MSS. Romæ, 1790, p. 186, 197.

* As we learn from Cicero, that the old sages of Europe had an idea of *centripetal force*, and a principle of *universal gravitation* (which they never indeed attempted to demonstrate), so I can venture to affirm, without meaning to pluck a leaf from the never-fading laurels of our immortal Newton, that the whole of his theology, and part of his philosophy, may be found in the *Vedas*, and even in the works of the *Sufis*. The *most subtil spirit*, which he suspected to pervade natural bodies, and lying concealed in them to cause attraction and repulsion, the emission, reflection, and refraction of light, electricity, calefaction, sensation, and muscular motion, is described by the Hindus as a *fifth element*, endued with those very powers; and the Vedas abound with allusions to a force universally attractive, which they chiefly attribute to the sun. Jones on the Philosophy of the Asiatics. Asiatic Res. vol. 4. p. 169.

CHAP. VI. frequently kindled in Asia, and even the stern fanaticism of the Saracens yielded to the mild influence of letters. In former parts of this work, we beheld the disciples of Muhammed in the character of religious and political fanatics. Great and splendid were the events which we detailed, and tremendously important were their consequences. But it is on, what Mr. Burke with so much poetical beauty calls, "the soft green of the soul," that the mind delights to dwell; and we gladly turn from fields of blood, and scenes of misery and vice, to behold the followers of the Arabian Prophet, as the cultivators of the gentle arts of peace.

Rude and unlettered people have generally been the founders of empires; and certainly the Arabians possessed in a high degree this claim to the inheritance of the world. Their history is divided into the two periods of ignorance and Islamism, and the division may include the literary, as well as the religious state of the country.* "The people of the book," was the honourable

* Pocock says, so great was the ignorance of the Arabians, that at the time of the promulgation of the Koran, there was not a person in the province of Yemen who could read or write. But I think that this remark is only correct so far as it relates to the Cufic characters of the Arabic language. This stile had been invented a short time before the birth of Muhammed, and the Koran was written in it. We can

nourable title of the Christians and Jews. The barbarous natives despised not the want of letters in the great Prophet of Mecca. Yet the spirit of Muhammed was liberal. In a noble admiration of science, he could exclaim, that "a "mind without erudition was like a body without a soul," and that "glory consists not in "wealth, but in knowledge."* Absorbed, however, with the ideas of the conquest or conversion of the world, the early successors of the Prophet held in equal contempt the learning and the religion of their new subjects and tributaries.† When, however, the ages of violence and CHAP. VI.

can readily conceive, that the Cufic character was unintelligible to a people who had always been accustomed to the Hamjarik mode; the latter of which is also unintelligible in the present days to the Muhammedans themselves. Pocock, Specimen, p. 153. Niebuhr, p. 83, 84, note.

* Meninski, Lexicon, tom. 1. p. 38.

† The Saracens, as well as other good people, occasionally condemned books "au feu." Their most pious act in this line, was destroying a large library at Alexandria: it was done by order of the Caliph Omar, when Amrou conquered Egypt. The fact does not, as I once thought, rest on the sole authority of Abul-Pharajius; Macrisi, and also Abdollatif, the writer of a work expressly on Egyptian antiquities, mentioned the circumstance. I hesitated, with Langlés, from crediting the story on the authority of Abul-Pharajius alone; but the authorities of Macrisi and Abdollatif removed his scepticism, and I willingly retract the error I made in my first edition. But when we talk of the destruction of the Alexandrian library, let us not be deceived by Destruction of the Alexandrian Library.

CHAP. VI. and rapine were succeeded by those of security and peace, and Bagdad arose a fair and splendid city,

by words. It must not be imagined, that the library of the Ptolomies was the one which the Saracens pillaged. That "elegantiæ regum curæque egregium opus" was destroyed in Cæsar's time; and the new collection which Cleopatra formed, was dissipated in the wars which the Christians made upon the Pagans, A D. 390. The literary value of the library which the learned men of Alexandria subsequently formed, we know not. Abul-Pharajius says, the books were dispersed through the baths of Alexandria, and in half a year they were consumed. The number of books he neither says nor insinuates. See the Dissertation of M. Bonamy on the Alexandrian Library, in the ninth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions. Macrisi, cited by White, Ægyptica, p. 65. Abdollatiphus, Historia, p. 115, 4to. Magasin Encyclop. an 5, tom. 3. p. 384. To the disgrace of the Christian world, the barbarous conduct of the Saracens remained unavenged for eight centuries. The great and good Ximenes thought, like his worthy countrymen the curate and barber in Don Quixote, that fire would purify the mind from all diseases, infidelity and madness not excepted; he therefore burnt and destroyed all the Muhammedan books he could collect, not even sparing their gold and silver ornaments, although the Saracens promised to convert them to other purposes. The Cardinal, however, knew very well that the word of an Infidel was as little to be trusted as that of an heretic. Some authors, thinking of Ximenes' love of literature, have asserted, that exemplars of the Koran, and of the commentaries on it, alone were committed to the flames. But piety was his shining virtue, and knowing that the theology and philosophy of the Saracens were closely mixed, he would not save the former for the sake of the latter.

city, the muses were courted from their ancient seats on the shores of Greece, to expiate the guilt of conquest and illustrate the reigns of the Abassides. CHAP. VI.

Introduction of learning among the Arabians, A. D. 758.

Almansor, the second prince of this dynasty, enriched his mind by the study of jurisprudence and astronomy. Harun al-Raschid was equally curious, but in both Caliphs this desire of knowledge was aided by adventitious causes. In the simple mode of life of the Arabs, a healthful frame of body was preserved, and their knowledge of medicine was limited to their occasions. But in the luxurious courts of Damascus and Bagdad new vices engendered new diseases. The Caliphs resorted to the Christian professors of the healing art, and the ignorant Arabians beheld with astonishment the cure of apoplexy by bleeding.* The disciples of Esculapius have in all ages been distinguished for general learning. Established in reputation at Bagdad, they enforced by precept and example the studies of literature and philosophy. The Muhammedans, now inflamed by the love of letters, as much as their ancestors had been by the desire of military renown, lamented the insufficiency of their own treasures of knowledge. But the funds of the Greeks were inexhaustible. In the reigns A. D. 758-830. of

* Elmacin. Hist. Saracen, lib. ii, cap. 3, 6. Abul-Pharajius, dynast. 9, passim.

CHAP. VI. of Almansor, of Raschid, and of Almamon, the second Caliph in succession to Raschid, and seventh of the Abassides, the Christians resident at Bagdad and at Cairo transfused the philosophy and science of Athens into the copious language of Arabia. Yet, in the true spirit of barbarism, many of the Greek originals were destroyed, immediately after the translations had been made.* But this instance of illiberality must not be extended to general character. Almamon was a liberal and enlightened prince. "He was not ignorant," says one of our guides in the history of literature, "that "those persons are the elect of God, his best "and most useful servants, whose lives are de- "voted to the improvement of their rational fa- "culties. The mean ambition of the Chinese "or the Turks may glory in the industry of their "hands, or the indulgence of their brutal appe- "tites. Yet these dexterous artists must view "with hopeless emulation, the hexagons and "pyramids of the cells of a beehive: these for- "titudinous heroes are awed by the superior "fierceness of lions and tigers; and their plea- "sures of sense are less exquisite than those of "the

* Epistola Renaudoti ad A. Dacerium. in Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. tom. 1. p. 861, &c. Abul-Pharajius, dynast. 9 The merit of these translations is maintained by Casiri, and denied by Huet. See Meninski, Lexicon, tom. 1. p. 42.

" the most sordid quadruped. The teachers of CHAP. VI.
" wisdom are the true luminaries and legislators
" of a world, which, without their aid, would
" again sink into ignorance and barbarism."
Appointed by his father to the dignity of Governor of Korasan, Almamon collected from every quarter the expert in art and the learned in science. But his nomination of Messua, a Christian physician of Damascus, to the high office of president of the college, shocked the orthodoxy of his father Raschid. Almamon remonstrated in a noble strain. " I chose," said he, " this learned man, not to be my guide
" in religious affairs, but to be my teacher of
" science: and it is well known, that the wisest
" men are to be found among the Jews and
" Christians."*

Literary Institutions.

The Saracens became a literary people. The prosperity of meridian empire did not relax their ardour, and subsequent political distractions interrupted not the acquisition of knowledge. The arts and sciences were patronized by the Caliphs of the East, of the West, and of Africa. At one period, six thousand professors and pupils cultivated liberal studies in the col-

* Abul-Pharajius, p. 160. Leo, de Viris illustribus Arabum, cap. 1. p. 260, &c. in the thirteenth volume of the second edition of Fabricius. Bibliot. Græc. 4to. Hamburgh, 1718—1728.

CHAP. VI. lege of Bagdad. Twenty schools made Grand Cairo a chief seat of letters, and the talents of the students were exercised in the perusal of the royal library, which consisted of one hundred thousand manuscripts. The African writers dwell with pride and satisfaction on the literary institutions which adorned the towns on the northern coast of their sandy plain. The sun of science arose even in Africa, and the manners of the Moorish savage were softened by philosophy. Their brethren in Europe amassed numerous and magnificent collections; two hundred and eighty thousand volumes were in Cordova, and more than seventy libraries were open to public curiosity in the kingdom of Andalusia.*

The

* Leo, Hist. Africæ, lib. 1. p. 33; lib. 2. p. 60; lib. 3. p. 110; lib. 8. p. 267, 272. Gregorius, Rerum Arabicarum quæ ad historiam Siculam spectant ampla collectio. p. 233—240. fol. Panorm. 1790. Casiri Bibl. Arab—Hisp. tom. 2. p. 38, 71, 201, 202, and every page of the eximius libellus of Leo, on the philosophers of the Arabs. These are the authorities which the reader may consult, who is curious for more knowledge of the state of literary institutions among the Saracens. In the library at Cairo, the first place was given to exemplars of the Koran, and interpretations of it; the next, to writings on the traditions of Muhammed. Books on law succeeded. Philology, poetry, and science, had their respective places. Renaudot, p. 536. In estimating the portion of matter contained in the libraries of the ancients or of the Saracens, it must be remembered, that their manuscripts

The literary apparatus, therefore, was splendid and considerable. We will now view the progress of the Saracens in those branches of knowledge, where the human mind looks within itself for the materials of its labours, and in the more practically useful departments, where observation and experiment supply the place of invention. CHAP. VI. Actual state of knowledge.

The nations of the East and West have vied with each other in submission to Aristotle. Great as was the power of the Macedonian hero over the lives and fortunes of his contemporaries, yet the genius of his preceptor established an empire far more extensive and durable. In the thickest obscurity of barbarism and the most brilliant sunshine of civilization, the name of the Stagirite has been repeated with reverence, and his opinions have controlled the world. His subtle system was well adapted to the Saracens. "They cultivated it," as Warburton says, "with a kind of scientific rage." When pressed by the Jews and Christians with solid arguments against the truth of the Koran, the early followers of Muhammed silenced their antagonists by an appeal to the sword; but when the Saracens became a literary people, they met their Philosophy of Aristotle.

manuscripts contained not so much as our printed volumes. For example, the fifteen books of Ovid's Metamorphoses formed fifteen volumes.

CHAP. VI. adversaries in the fields of learned controversy. The Koran being in its simple state indefensible, was masked and bedecked by its defenders in the fantastic robes of allegory and metaphor. Spiritual meanings were discovered in every word, and the theologians were obscured in the clouds of metaphysics. In these controversies the real object of dispute was soon lost sight of, and the dexterous Saracens so successfully used the Syllogism of Aristotle, that they never appeared to be defeated. When any particular passage of the Koran was attacked, the doctors of Bagdad argued not upon the passage itself, but upon the general subject in which it was involved, or with which it was connected. They fled to unsatisfactory generalities, that citadel of sophistry, or detected the illogical reasoning of their adversaries. The philosophy of the Saracens was called Al Calam, the wisdom of words, or the science of reason. The false and illiberable opinion of the incompatibility of philosophy and piety, is embraced by the devotees of all religions. The orthodoxy of the plain and humble Muselman was offended by the intermixture of profane and sacred literature, and an ignominious and painful death was declared to be the deserved fate of those, who resigned themselves to barren speculations. The literal sense of the Koran

ran was congenial to the gross conceptions of the vulgar, and they would rather have opposed the Christians by indifference and contempt, than by the refined arguments of reason.* But the philosophy of Aristotle was not the only adventitious mixture, which the theology of the Muselmans received. The speculations of the Egyptians had been hidden from the eye of the vulgar in symbols. This ideal system passed to the learned Hebrews, who, being prohibited from the fine arts of sculpture and painting, preserved it in enigmatical language. In every age of the Caliphate the Jews had been protected by the Muselmans, and when Bagdad became a seat of

 learning,

* Maimonides, More Nevrohim, p. 133. Pocock, Specimen, p. 166-7, 194—197, 209. Bayle, article Takeddin. The Druses. The legitimate descendants of one of these sects of philosophical enthusiasts are the Druses of Mount Libanus: and certainly they do not disgrace their ancestors by the practice of superstition. The elect lead a contemplative life, but the vulgar Druses are neither Christians nor Muhammedans. When requested by the Turks, they will enter into a mosque, make their ablutions and pray: in the company of the Maronites, they will visit a church. The eloquence of a Missionary has often made them submit to baptism, and they have shortly afterwards been circumcised at the solicitations of the Turks. Volney, tom. 2, p 32, 57. These vicars of Bray have placed the four Gospels among their sacred books, but have disfigured them with very irrational and unchristian explanations. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. 2, part. 1, p. 85. The best account of the Druses is given by Adler in his Mus. Cuf. Borg.

CHAP. VI. learning, the Commander of the Faithful patronised the Jewish students at Sora and Pundebita. The Jews no longer despised profane science, but embraced the knowledge of the Greeks, which the Arabic versions offered them. In return for these acquisitions, the Jews presented to the Saracens the philosophy of Egypt. The fundamental principles of this system were in accordance with those of the philosophers of Greece, and therefore the new disciples of the Stagirite willingly received them. But the superadded parts, the Egyptian and Jewish Cabbala, were vain and fanciful. The ingenuity and imagination of the doctors of the Mosque were exerted in drawing recondite meanings from the words of the Koran, or in applying those words in such combinations, as were supposed to give the student an acquaintance with the good and evil spirits of the invisible world. They became bewildered in the profundity of their researches into the names of God and his Angels, and a knowledge of heavenly matters was, they believed, to be attained by an arbitrary usage of letters and numbers.*

Mathematics.

Though to the higher branches of the Mathematics the Saracens did not ascend, yet in the other

* Kircher, Œdipus, Ægypt. vol. 2. pars. 1. p. 360—400, Rom. 1654, and Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, vol, 9. p. 53.

other divisions their knowledge must have been considerable, for trigonometry received from them the form in which it is at present studied.* The art of arithmetical analysis draws its name from the language of Arabia. The Saracens acquired Algebra extending to simple and compound (meaning quadratic) equations; but it was confined, so far as appears, to limited problems of those degrees. This knowledge they derived from the Hindus, for from them they learned the science of numbers, and Algebra was a branch of the Hindu mode of computation.† As early as the close of the eighth or

 commencement

* Montucla, Histoire des Mathématiques, tom. premier, p. 573.

† That the digits (generally called the Arabic digits) which have for ages been used throughout Europe were invented in India is the opinion generally received. Various system-makers have ascribed the honour to other nations. The writers of the Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique have stated the different arguments in support of the received and the rejected hypothesis, with their usual perspicuity and learning, tom. 3, chap. 9, art. 2. The Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans, used alphabetical letters for the representation of numbers, and this simple and natural method was perhaps the common practice of nations. Montucla, tom. 1. p. 46. Some ingenious attempts have been lately made to prove, that the Arabic digits are the results of different combinations of simple strokes. See the second part of the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica,

Arabic Digits.

CHAP. VI.

commencement of the ninth century, the Arabians were acquainted with these parts of science. Treatises were written at that period in Arabic on the Algebraic analysis, by two distinct Mathematicians who flourished under Almamon, and the more ancient author is recognized by the Arabs as the first who made Algebra known to them. Nearly two centuries after their acquisition of the Hindu astronomy and numerical science, they became acquainted with the writings of Grecian Mathematicians, and Muhammed Abul-wafa al Buzjani made a translation of the work of Diaphantus. But the Indians were more advanced in the science than the Grecians were.*

Astronomy.

Astronomy is naturally the study of a pastoral people, and the serene unclouded atmosphere of the east is favourable to the cultivation of this sublime science. The contemplation of the celestial bodies led the primitive inhabitants of the earth to a belief that these luminaries, so regular in their course, and of an appearance so grand and solid, ruled the affairs of this lower

Britannica, article Arithmetic. But it appears, that the original numerals of the Hindus (of which the Arabic digits are only an abridgment) may be considered as primitive words. They are evidently letters, and not the combination of simple strokes. Wilkins's Sanscrit Grammar, p. 521.

* Colebrooke's Hindu Algebra, p. 20, 22, 70, 72.

lower world. Muhammedanism was the declared enemy to idolatry, and when letters were patronized by the Caliphs, the planets were studied, though not adored. Yet a lurking spirit of superstition urged the Saracens to attempt to read the decrees of fate in the movements of the stars, and the system of many a great astronomer was debased, by a mixture of astrology. Although the discovery of the solar system was reserved for a later age, yet the knowledge which the Saracens possessed of astronomy was considerable. Under the patronage of the Caliph Almamon, and in the spacious plains, both of Sengar and of Cufa, a degree of the circle of the earth was measured, and the entire circumferance of the globe was proved to be twenty-four thousand miles.* We owe to Albatenius an observation on the obliquity of the ecliptic, which corrected of refraction and parallax, gives 26,° 2182, for this obliquity. He found also the annual movement of the Equinoxes equal to 168, 3, and the duration of the tropical year equal to 365,d 24056. The first of these calculations is an excess of 14″; in the second, there is an error of a minute and a half; but these inaccuracies are owing to the preference which Albatenius gave to the system of Ptolemy, above that

CHAP. VI.

* Abulfeda, tom. 2. p. 239—241; where the process of the measurement is minutely described.

CHAP. VI. that of Hipparchus. This great man improved also the theory of the solar orb. His works confirm that diminution of the eccentricity of the sun, which the theory of gravity and the secular equation of the moon have since demonstated. Three eclipses of the moon, observed by Ibn Junis, have served to increase our knowledge of the acceleration of the lunar movements.*

Anatomy. The knowledge which the Saracens possessed of medicine is a subject of curious inquiry. In the

* La Place, Exposition du Système du Monde, tom. 2. p. 239—242. The most acurate view of the astronomy of the Arabs was taken by Bailly. Histoire de l'Astronomie Moderne, p. 214—250. It seems probable that the Pendulum was in use among the Arabs. Bailly argues that it was of still greater antiquity. The subject of the Saracenic astronomy has been ably treated by Montuéla in the first volume of the history of the Mathematics, and by Assemanus in his Globus Cælestis, Cufico Arabicus, Veliterni Musei Borgiani illustratus. Patav. 1790. The piercing eye of Halley saw the merit of the Arabs. Philosophical Transactions, vol, 17, p. 913. The Saracens derived their knowledge of astronomy as well as of Algebra from the Hindus. In the reign of Almansor, and by his command, a translation was made of an Hindu treatise on astronomy, containing tables of the equations of planets, according to the mean motions, with observations relative to both solar and lunar eclipses, and the ascension of the signs. Their acquaintance with Grecian astronomy was not till a subsequent period. Colebrooke, p. 64.

the anatomical branch of this science, they did little more than translate and paraphrase the Greek writers. The errors which their originals had made in anatomy became sacred, and if the Arabs have described certain parts of the body with more exactness than Galen has done, these descriptions were only conjectures, or the consequence of the study of some Greek authors who have not descended to us. The Muhammedan laws prohibit dissections; because, in the opinion of the Muselmans, the soul does not depart from the body at the moment of death. It passes from one member to another till it centers in the breast, where it remains for a considerable time. The examination, by the Angels, of the deceased person in his tomb, could not be made on a mutilated corpse. The physicians of the Arabs studied therefore only skeletons in the cemeteries.* In most surgical cases the Saracens implicitly followed the ancients, but one of the great disputes in the Arabic schools of medicine, was the propriety of the novel doctrine of Avicienna (a Spanish Moor), which opposed the recommendation of Galen and Hippocrates, that in case of pleurisy, the

CHAP. VI.

Surgery.

* Encyclopédie Méthod. tom. 2, p. 623-4. Paris 1790. Sprengel, Histoire de la Médecine, traduit par Jourdan, tom. 2, p. 262—342. Paris 1815.

CHAP. VI. the patient should be bled in the arm of the side which was affected.*

Chemistry. For their knowledge of Chemistry, so great a part of the basis of medicine, the Saracens have been deservedly applauded. We have no evidence that chemistry was cultivated by the Egyptians as a separate branch of science, or distinguished in its application from a variety of other arts which must have been exercised for the support and convenience of human life. All of them had probably some dependence on chemical principles, but they were then, as they are at present, practised by the several artists, without their having any theoretical knowledge of their respective employments. It is not known to what nation ought to be attributed the art of transmuting metals into gold; but by way of distinction, this branch of knowledge was called *Al-chemia*, as the sacred book was called *Al-Koran*. Chemistry, with the rest of the sciences, being banished from the other parts of the world, took refuge among the Arabs. Geber, in the seventh or eighth, and others in the ninth century of the Christian æra, wrote

* Le Clerc, Histoire de la Médecine, p. 779. In the Escurial MSS. there is in the Cufic character, a treatise on Surgery, with a collection of plates of surgical instruments. Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, tom. 1, p. 296.

wrote several chymical, or rather alchymical, books in Arabic. In these works of Geber are contained such useful directions concerning the manner of conducting distillation, calcination, sublimation, and other chemical preparations, and such pertinent observations respecting various minerals, as justly seem to entitle him to the character, which some have given him, of being the father of chemistry, the discoverer of the key to the richest treasuries of nature; though he himself modestly confesses, that he has done little else than abridge the doctrine of the ancients, concerning the transmutation of metals. He mentions several mercurial preparations; such as the corrosive sublimate and red precipitate, nitric acid, muriatic acid, and many other chemical compositions.* CHAP. VI.

The herbal of Dioscorides was enriched by the Saracens with additions of two thousand plants, and their knowledge of the vegetable world enabled them to insert in their pharmacopeia several remedies which had been unknown to the Greeks. One great difference between the Grecian and Saracenian dispensatories was, that the medicines in the latter were of a milder nature Botany.

* Watson's Chemical Essays, vol. 1, p. 9, 16—19, third edition. Sprengel, p. 263. Kircher, tom. 2, pars. 2, p. 389—433. The art of obtaining, by distillation, spirituous from fermented liquors, it is said, was discovered by the Arabs. Murray's Chemistry, vol. 4, p. 411.

CHAP. VI. nature than those in the former. Another difference was the common use of sugar in lieu of honey. Dioscorides, speaking of the various species of honey, says, that there is a kind of it in a concrete state, called Saccharon, which is found in reeds in India and Arabia Felix. He also describes its medicinal virtues. Galen writes upon it nearly in the same manner. But the history of the artificial preparation of sugar, by boiling, or other means, is very imperfectly known. The Saracens appear, however, to have understood the art, for by a mixture of sugar with other ingredients, they made various medicines with which the ancients were unacquainted. The labours of the Arabs might, even in the present day, be of service, (at least such is the opinion of Sprengel) if our physicians would study the Arabic language, and the medical writings of Messua, Geber, Razis, Averroes, and Avicienna.*

The

* Scuderi. Introd. à l'Histoire de la Médecine, traduit par Billardet, p. 53—55. Paris, 1810. Sprengel, p. 343. Le Clerc, p. 780. Dr. Falconer's Sketch of the History of Sugar, Memoirs of the Manchester Society, vol. 4, p. 291—301. Bibliot. Arab. Hisp. tom. 1, p. 275. Beithar was the name of the Spanish physician, in whose work on simples are to be found more than two thousand which are not contained in the book of Dioscorides. His MS. is No. 834 in the Escurial Catalogue. The first Pharmacopeia that was ever published under the authority of the government of a country,

Medicine.

The theory of medicine was refined by the Saracens with various subtleties: the philosophy of Aristotle was introduced; and if we cannot remark in it the beautiful simplicity of Hippocrates, we find the doctrines of Galen, though strangely disfigured. In their practice the physicians shewed no reserve, no circumspection, no simplicity. The popular taste for the marvellous induced them to resort to every means of imposing on the vulgar. Astrology was introduced; particular positions and appearances of the stars were studied in dangerous cases; and amulets were in the possession of every successful and popular practiser of medicine.*

Such was the general state of philosophy and the mathematics, of astronomy and medicine, in the most flourishing days of the Saracens. The historians of these people furnish us with no specific information respecting their knowledge of the other branches of letters and science. As all merit is relative, no accurate notions can be obtained from general epithets of praise: but a less

country, was made by the Saracens at the close of the ninth century. Sprengel, p. 264.

* Sprengel, p. 264, 343. Scuderi, p. 53. Kircher, vol. 2, pars. 2, p. 377. There are some singular and interesting facts concerning the Arabic practice of medicine, in the celebrated Reiske's Inaugural Dissertation at the Leyden College. A. D. 1740.

CHAP. VI. less fanciful estimate may be formed of their attention to philology, from the circumstance that the Escurial catalogue alone presents us with a list of two hundred and one works on Arabic grammar. The language, the purity of which was by these means so carefully preserved, was the prevailing tongue through the Moslem world;* but in Bagdad, that seat of learning as well

The influence of conquest on language.

* The decree of the Caliph Walid for the use of the Arabic language throughout the Muhammedan world has been already mentioned. From the Indian Archipelago to Portugal, it became the language of religion, of literature, of government, and generally of common life. The Syriac and Coptic dialects ceased to be spoken, and the devout Moslems of every country of Asia cherished the language of the new religion. The Greek tongue was no longer that of the government in the Grecian provinces conquered by the Saracens; and though it had been corrupted by the Latin followers of Constantine (he preserved it as the language of state), and was afterwards still further injured by the various people who went to Constantinople in the time of the Crusades; yet the capture of that city by the Turks was the principal event that caused the creation of the Romeika or modern Greek. In the north of Africa the Arabic language became universally spoken, and every vernacular idiom was saturated with the idiom of the Koran. The Romans were equally sensible with the Saracens of the important influence of language over national habits of thinking. But in their eastern conquests, the republicans established not so fully the use of the Latin tongue as in the western. A generous, enthusiastic love of letters made the Romans respect the idiom of Greece, and it was spoken in

well as of empire, the *attic* dialect, as it might be called, was spoken.* Necessity compelled the Saracens to consult the ancients on the subjects of science, but a strong hatred of idolatry, and a contempt for *infidels* and *barbarians*, kept them from a knowledge of the poetry and mythology of Greece and Rome. The sciences were patronised by the Caliphs; and all that a military despotic government could do was done. The study of the historians and moralists of the free states of antiquity might have kindled a flame of generous liberty, and taught CHAP. VI.

 the

in common life. In the proud days of the republic, the language of Rome was that of the government, even in the Grecian and Asiatic colonies; and Cicero, in his visit to Sicily, was reprehended by the Prætor for speaking Greek in the Sicilian senate. The charge was a ridiculous one in the peculiar circumstances of the case, but it exhibits the popular feelings. The people of Gaul, Spain, Africa, and other western provinces, had no arts or letters to attract the respect of their conquerors; and they accepted the civilization and refinement, which the Romans always gave in exchange for freedom. The Latin language did not cease to be spoken in Italy till after the seventh century; for Gregory the Great, who flourished in that age, preached popular discourses in Latin. The continued existence of the Roman language after the power of the Romans was destroyed is not wonderful, when we consider that the barbarian invaders of Italy had long been allied to the Romans, and respected their manners and institutions.

* Meninski, Lexicon, tom. 1, p. 42.

CHAP. VI.

the people wherein really consisted the grandeur and dignity of man; but the Saracens were deluded by a brilliant spectacle of literary institutions, and fancied that the sun of knowledge had shot a stronger ray over their hemisphere than over that of any other people on the earth.

The Saracens the introducers of learning into Europe.

As discoverers and inventors the Saracens have few claims to praise. A grateful respect for antiquity was corrupted by them into a superstitious reverence, which checked all originality of ideas and freedom of thought. But they formed the link which unites ancient and modern letters, and since their relative situation with Europe somewhat resembled the relative situation between Egypt and Greece, they are entitled to a portion of our respect and gratitude. In the tenth century Gerbert (afterwards Pope Silvester the Second), acquired in the course of his travels through Spain the Arabic, or rather the Indian mode of computation; but the obscurity both of his rules and of his manner of writing prevented other people from receiving much benefit from his discovery. At the close of the twelfth, or the commencement of the thirteenth century, Leonardo, a Pisan merchant, learnt the art at Bugia, in the country of Algiers, where his father was agent to the Pisan

Pisan merchants. Finding it much more useful than the one in general European practice he introduced it into Pisa, and to that commercial republic may be attributed the honour of being the first Christian people in the west who used the decimal scale. CHAP. VI.

When the nations of Europe began to emerge from barbarism, they correctly acknowledged the Moors to be the great depositaries of science. Many useful treatises, now lost in the original, part of the mathematical works of Appollonius Pergæus, * and some of the commentaries of

* The work of this famous mathematician on conic sections was divided into eight books. The four last are the best: the fifth and seventh are of peculiar merit. The first four books were all that the Europeans possessed till the middle of the seventeenth century; when Borelli accidentally discovered the fifth, sixth, and seventh books in Arabic in the Medicean library. In conjunction with Ecchelensis, he published them in 1661. The eighth book has never been brought to light, but the notes of Pappus enabled Halley to restore it. Of the other works of Appollonius, the book "de sectione rationis" translated into Arabic, was found in the Bodleian collection. Dr. Bernard, Savilian Professor of Astronomy, commenced a Latin version of it. From reasons, of which we are ignorant, he gave it up before a tenth part was finished. After the lapse of some years, Halley obtained the Savilian Professorship, and anxiously desired to compleat the translation; but he was totally ignorant of the Arabic language, and the MS. was in many places defaced or obliterated. Bernard's fragments

CHAP. VI. Galen on Hippocrates were preserved in the language of the Saracens. Literature emanated from Italy and Spain, and passed into the other European states. The Saracenian schools were attended by students from all parts of Christendom. The establishment of the Saracens in the peninsula was completed in the eighth century, and the elder Spanish romances are strongly tinctured with Arabian ideas.* When, three ages afterwards, Provence was annexed to the throne of Raymond Berenger, count of Barcelona, and the Catalonians and Provençals became intermixed, a direct and immediate impression of Oriental sentiments and manners was made upon the Christian world. The Provençal poets are indebted for some of their most beautiful images to their acquaintance with Arabic literature. The notions of honour, the mysticism of love, the harmonious blending of opinion and sentiment, the romantic grace of manners, and the character of the female sex, which the Troubadours describe, are in accordance

ments, however, served him as a key of interpretation. Halley made a list of those words whose signification Bernard's version had ascertained, and then by comparing these words when they occurred with the reasonings in which they were involved, he gradually decyphered the context and completed his translation. See his preface to some of the works of A. Pergæus, 8vo. 1706.

* Warton, Hist. of English Poetry, vol. 1. p. 111.

cordance with the general strain of Oriental poetry: and rhyme, one great characteristic of modern verse, was derived by these bards from the Arabic measure.* By the command of Charlemagne, the principal Arabic books, both originals and versions, were translated into Latin, for the use of the people in the various provinces of his empire. The philosophy of Aristotle was diffused through Western Europe: in the dialectics of the Stagirite, the Muselmans had found the keenest weapons of dispute, and the Monks, in their controversies with heretics and Jews, formed from the writings of the same Grecian sage, that wonderful system of ingenious folly—the Scholastic Divinity. CHAP. VI.

To the rich and fertile country of Naples and Magna Græcia, the followers of the Arabian Prophet in Sicily and Africa had often been attracted; and the page of the Italian historian School of Salernum.

* Traité sur la Poésie Orientale. Jones's works, 4to. vol. 5. p. 435, and Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. 4. p. 470. Yet another source of modern rhyme may be found in that species of verse which was called by the Greeks ομοιτελευτα, and by the Romans, *similiter desinentia et eodem modo declinata.* In the decline of Latin letters, the inclination for rhyme was common, and we have evidence of its use in the seventh century. It did not acquire the name of Leonine verse till the twelfth century, when the celebrity of Leoninus, a monk of Marseilles, gave his name to the measure. This subject has been well discussed by Moreau, in his Prolegomena to the Salernitan school. Rhyme.

CHAP. VI. is full of the wars which these invaders occasioned. But the maritime city of Salernum seems to have been a favourite object of their attention. The coffers of the Salernitans were exhausted in the purchase of peace; the Muselmans and the Christians gradually intermixed, and the literature of the Saracens was insensibly communicated to the Italians. So early as the ninth century, a college was founded in Salernum by Charlemagne, and this was the first Christian university where medicine was taught. For the next three centuries, Salernum, the fountain of physic, as it was called by the old writers, was the celebrated school to which the students of medicine resorted from every quarter of Europe, and the works of Galen and Hippocrates became known to the Christians.* The aphorisms of the physicians of Salernum were addressed to Robert Duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, and agreeably to the practice of an age when poetry was made the vehicle of letters and science, these medical precepts were written in verse.

Literature of Turkey.

In perusing the variegated volume of the world, the literature of Turkey is generally thought

* Muratori, Antiquitates Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. 3. p. 395—6. Giannone's History of Naples, book 10, chap. 11. sec. 2 and 3. Schola Salernitana cum comm. Villanova et animad. Moreau. Prolegom. Paris, 1625. Eloy, Dict. Hist. de la Méd. article Salerne, 4to. Mons. 1778.

thought to deserve but little attention. Yet it will be found, that a view of the state of letters in this great Muselman power of the East is not devoid of interest. A knowledge of the Arabic and Persian languages is essentially necessary to men who wish to penetrate into Turkish science, or to write with elegance and correctness the Turkish language: and so close is the affinity between these various instruments of thought, that the learned Reviczi assures us, that a Turk cannot study the books which have been written in his vernacular idiom, if he has not some acquaintance with the languages of Arabia and Persia. The contempt of the Muselmans for the professors of any system of faith but that of Muhammed, has prevented them from keeping pace with Europe in knowledge; but a spirit of liberality has occasionally mitigated this proud feeling, and many a learned Moslem adds to his literary acquisitions the languages of Europe.* Though in the West, syllogism has yielded to induction, and the logic of Aristotle is but little thought of, yet in the East, and particularly in Turkey, the study of that less valuable part of his philosophy is ardently pursued, and the art of reasoning is learnt on scientific principles. The rhetoric of

CHAP. VI.

Languages

Rhetoric.

* Toderini, Littérature des Turcs, traduit par Cournand, tom. 1. p. 7, 8.

CHAP. VI.

the Turks is divided into three parts. The first consists of etymology; the second, the knowledge of tropes, figures, and other combinations of thought and language; and the third teaches the choice and mode of expression in discourse, in prose, and in poetry.* Morality forms a great part of their literature. In the Koran, the Sonna, and in the works of the various commentators on those books, the general principles of ethics are stated: but in some of the Turkish treatises on morality, all the minute decencies of life, and even the forms of politeness, are laid down with as much precision as they are in the Essayists in England. The Proverbs of Solomon, the Ethics of Aristotle, and the Gulistan of Sadi, are the favourite books of the Turks,†

Morality.

Mathematics.

In arithmetic the accuracy and quickness of the Othmans are constant subjects of wonder to Europeans. Algebra and geometry are parts of education; and the sentiment of Plato, that no man without a knowledge of the mathematics can make a progress in philosophy, is a favourite opinion

* Toderini, tom. 1. p. 70—73.

† Toderini, tom. 1. p. 75—86. The moralist of any nation will be enlightened by the ideas of virtue with which the Gulistan of Sadi abounds. It was translated into French by Du Ryer, and published at Paris in 1634, in one volume, octavo Gentius also made a Latin version of it, which appeared at Amsterdam, 1687, in one volume 12mo. Mr. Gladwin's English translation is well known.

opinion of the Turkish scholar.* The Turks have added little to the knowledge which the Saracens possessed of medicine, anatomy, chemistry, and botany: and the low state of science and natural philosophy in Turkey is sufficiently proved by the fact, that the search for the philosopher's stone is in the present times as great a delusion to the people of the East, as it was, some centuries ago, to the nations of the West.† CHAP. V. Science.

The Turks still follow the Ptolomean system of astronomy.‡ The astronomical tables of Lalande have been translated into their language, but they have not elevated the mind of the Muselman to correct notions of the sublime science to which they relate. Of some of the instruments of natural philosophy they are in utter ignorance, and others are known only as childish playthings. The telescope, the microscope, the electrical machine, are not applied to their real purposes: even the compass is not universally employed in their navy.§ Astronomy

The

* Toderini, tom. 1, p. 90, 99, 100.

† Ibid. tom. 1, p. 106—138. ‡ Ibid. tom. 1, p. 143.

§ Toderini, tom. 1, p. 164. Thornton's Present State of Turkey, p. 13. There are copies of English and French charts printed at Constantinople, with the names in Turkish; but their naval officers disdain to understand them, and confide entirely in their Greek pilots. There is no subject on

CHAP. VI.

Astrology.

The Arabian Prophet, knowing that where fanaticism dwells impostors will arise, and in apprehension of the existence of his own religion, strongly prohibits astrology: but it is the favourite superstition of the Turks, and the motions of the stars are still consulted by the Grand Sultans on important public occasions, with as much mental anxiety, and as many external ceremonies, as disgraced the great nations of antiquity. No dignity of state is conferred, the foundation of no public edifice is laid, except at the time recommended by the astrologers. The people are constantly the dupes of these impostors. Many personages of rank support them, and the more enlightened part of the community exclaim in vain that astrology is a false science.*

Of

on which the Turks in general are more ignorant than Geography. The Mediterranean bounds their ideas of the Ocean; and a Pasha of high rank contended that England was an island in the Black Sea, with which there was another channel of communication besides the Dardanelles. Beaufort's Karamania, p. 95.

* D'Ohsson, tom. 1, p. 333, 416, 420. The same proverb which recommends the study of the Koran is dissuasive from astrological pursuits. Schulten's Anthologia Sententiarum Arabicarum, p. 95, 4to. It may be hoped, for the credit of the Turks, that they often sacrifice their opinions to their humanity, and regard the subject of Astronomy in the same light as many a learned Persian does.

The fine Arts.

Of polite literature and the liberal arts little can be said. Turkish poetry has no peculiar and distinct character, but is generally an imitation of the Arabic and Persian muse, and possesses the same excellencies and defects.* The Prophet's stern interdiction of image worship has been deeply injurious to the fine arts. Painting, as an art belonging to the powers of the imagination, or what is commonly called *genius*, appears, as Sir William Jones says, to be yet in its infancy among the people of the East. The Turkish pictures, limited to landscape or architecture, have little merit, either in design or in execution: but the sculptured ornaments in the houses of the Turks shew dexterity, and even taste. The Sonnite clergy appear to hold the fine arts in abhorrence, but the court of Constantinople is not equally barbarous, for the imperial navy, and the ensigns of military war, are adorned with carved figures of animals.† In the seventeenth century,

does. The prime minister of Persia consulted a sooth-sayer, regarding a fortunate moment for putting on a new dress; and observing on Col. Malcolm's face a smile of astonishment, he said, "Do not think I am such a fool as "to put faith in all this nonsense; but I must not make "my family unhappy by refusing to comply with forms "which some of them deem of consequence."

* Thornton, p. 14.

† Toderini, tom. 3, p. 57. Thornton, p. 26.

CHAP. VI. century, music was studied in Turkey on principles of science; and Prince Cantemir wrote the airs of his nation in European notes. But the usage of these notes has been abandoned, and arbitrary signs adopted. The Turkish music is founded on fixed principles and rules. Melody is better understood than harmony and counterpoint. Most of the people of distinction study music as a part of education, but the practice of the science is generally left to slaves.*

Printing. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, the art of printing was introduced into Constantinople, and was pronounced by the Mufti to be a lawful institution. A royal edict sanctioned the wisdom of the law and church. But the same high authorities declared it to be contrary to the religion and dignity of the Muselmans, to permit the Koran to be printed, or any work which related to the religious, moral, and judicial system of the Prophet. The types were cast at Constantinople, and accord admirably with the Arabic characters in manuscript. A few dictionaries and historical works were printed. The professor of the art died in 1755, and so apathetic are the Turks in the cause of literature, that thirty years elapsed before an individual appeared to request a royal edict

* Toderini, tom. 1, p. 219—223. D'Ohsson, Tab. Gén. tom. 4, p. 419.

edict for the establishment of another press.* The transcribers of manuscripts are still able to satisfy the demands of the studious. Every mosque in the large towns of Turkey has a public library and college attached to it, in which young men are prepared for the professions of the church and law. In Constantinople there are thirty-five public libraries, which are always open to the studious. The number of books in each varies from one thousand to two thousand five hundred. They are generally written with great elegance and beauty, are bound in green or black morocco, and enclosed in a case of the same materials and colour. CHAP. VI.

* Toderini, tom. 3, chap. 2. D'Ohsson, tom. 2. p. 495, and Dallaway's Constantinople, sec. 25.

CHAP. VII.

THE PRESENT STATE AND EXTENT OF THE MUHAMMEDAN RELIGION.

CHAP. VII. THE sword of the Muhammedans has for ages ceased to alarm the world, and the fire of their fanaticism has been spent; but their religion has suffered no visible diminution of followers: for although the Christians have triumphed over the Moors in Spain, and checked the advancement of Islamism in Siberia, yet in the middle and lower Asia, and also in Africa, the professors of the Moslem's creed have gradually increased. It is impossible to estimate, with any approach to accuracy, the number either of Muselmans or of Christians; but considering for a moment the subject of religion in a geographical sense, it may be generally remarked, that as Christianity has unlimited influence in Europe, so Islamism is the dominant religion in Asia; and that as the Christian faith has considerable weight in America, Muhammedanism has its proportionate sway in Africa.

In

In the extensive regions of Tartary, the joys of a sensual paradise are not expected by so many myriads of men, as formed the armies of the conquering Muselman Tamerlane. The Grand Lama of Thibet, and various national idols, have innumerable votaries; and happily the Christian churches of Russia and Greece have even in these inhospitable regions preached the Gospel to the Gentiles. The Circassians, and many other races of Tartars, seem to have no religion at all. In the Crimea the people are Muselmans, and maintain the doctrine of predestination with more than Turkish obstinacy. In the country called by modern geographers Independent Tartary, extending from the Caspian Sea on the west to the mountains of Beluc on the east, eight hundred and seventy British miles, and from the mountains of Gaur on the south to the Russian boundary north of the desert of Issim, a distance of fifteen hundred British miles, that immense tract, which from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries was so fruitful in conquerors of the Muselman world, the Muhammedan religion appears to be the system of devotion among the people.*

In

* Renilly's Voyage en Crimée p. 158. Paris, 1806. Choix des Lettres Edifiantes, tom. 5, p. 406—411. Paris, 1808. Tavernier's Voyages, tom. 1, liv. 3, ch. 11. Paris, 1679. Tavernier and the Jesuits are authorities somewhat old for

CHAP. VII.

In China.

In the vast empire of China, which in these days embraces so large a portion of ancient Tartary, the religion of Muhammed is tolerated. The irruption of the Saracens into the Chinese territories during the Caliphate of Walid, assumed not the decisive character of conquest; yet when the successors of Zingis Khan possessed themselves of the throne of Pekin, they pursued not the system of jealous policy of the Chinese, but opened the country to an intercourse with the world. The Arabians had long indeed carried on a commercial correspondence with the sea-ports on the south of China. Access to the capital of the empire became now unrestrained; and the Muhammedans were useful in adjusting the chronology of the nation, and in making the necessary calculations for the calendar. They acquired the language, and adopted the dress and manners of the people. As their power and influence increased, a desire of proselytism arose. Their measures of conversion were wise and humane. If the present generation were too stubborn to yield to their exhortations to virtue, they tried the more pliable temper of

for a delineation of the present extent of Islamism; but the notices of more modern travellers into Tartary are few and general on the subject of the Muhammedan religion, and do not contradict the representations of Tavernier and the Jesuits. Some allowance must however be made for the progress of the Greek and Russian churches.

of youth. They received into their protection the children whom the inhuman Chinese parents had deserted, and educated them in Islamism. The Muhammedans are tolerated in China, because in general they are mild and peaceable subjects: but an unsuccessful rebellion in the year 1783 and 1784, enables us to form some notion of their numbers; for in that brief period one hundred thousand were put to death by order of the Emperor Kien Long.* CHAP. VII.

In Hindustan.

In an early age of the Caliphate, the Saracenian conquerors of Persia passed into Hindustan. Few settlements, however, were made; and it was not till the time of Mahmud the Gaznavide that Muhammedanism was established. But the sword did not, as in brighter days of Moslem history, destroy the religion as well as the lives of the conquered. The population of India is both numerous and devout: it soon recovered from the loss of the hundreds of thousands who had perished by the arms of the Tartars. Muhammedanism was the religion of the court and government; but the policy, the indifference, or timidity, of the successors of the invader kindled not the torch of persecution, and the idols of the nation were gradually restored.

* Barrow's Travels in China, 4to. p. 442. Choix des Lettres Edifiantes, tom. 1, p. 296. Paris, 1808. De Guignes, Voyage à Peking, tom. 2, p. 342. Paris 1808.

CHAP. VII. stored. Although in the twelfth century Muhammed Gauri succeeded in capturing Benares, the ancient seat of Braminical learning, and the chief city of the Indian religion, and destroyed the images of popular adoration; yet in the reigns of his successors, the particular and distinguished sanctity of the place was regarded. The Gentoos, who in general consider a visit once in their lives * to this consecrated metropolis, as much a matter of obligation as the Muhammedan deems his performance of the pilgrimage to Mecca, were allowed to celebrate their fancied religious rite: the very government of the sacred city was reserved to the natives; and none of the Muselman conquerors, even in the plenitude of their pride, power, and bigotry, thought of suffering their magistrates to enter the place. The Muhammedan princes of India, and the millions of Tartars, Persians, and Arabians, who at various periods of the Hegira have quitted their native seats for the enjoyment of the riches of India, have always formed the bulk of the Muhammedans in Hindustan. The propinquity of the north, and north-western parts of this vast region to the original abodes of these invaders, has filled them with Muselmans.† The Bohrahs,

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. 3, p. 255, 4to. edition.

† Elphinstone's Caubul, chap. 5; Captain Wilford's admirable Dissertation on Mount Caucasus, in the Asiatic Researches;

Bohrahs, a race of men Moslems in religion, but Jews in features, genius, and manners, are numerous in the Indian peninsula, and in most of the great cities of Hindustan. If it should be found that this well regulated people are descendants from the remorseless Carmathians and Assassins, our history of the human mind will be enriched by a new and wonderful fact. The Aliilahiajahs (men who deem Ali to be a divinity) are numerous, and indeed every sect of Muhammedanism has its members dispersed over the Indian territories. But speaking of the Moslems of India at large, it may be remarked, that the princes are in general Sonnites, as well as most of their chief men, the heads of the law, or the ministers of state, whilst the great body of the Muselmans being descended from a Persian stock, or from the proselytes of the first Muhammedan conquerors, adhere rigidly to the principles of the Shiites.* CHAP. VII.

searches; and Pottinger's Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde. It is singular that Nepaul should be the only country in the neighbourhood of Hindustan that has never been disturbed, much less subdued, by any Muselman power.—Kirkpatrick's Account of Nepaul, p. 185. 4to. London, 1816.

* Asiatic Researches, vol. 3, p. 8; vol. 7, p. 336—342. Hamilton's Prel. Disc, p. 19. The Muhammedans of India, throughout every succession of shade from fair to black, claim rank and superiority in proportion to their near ap-

proac

CHAP. VII.

The number of the Muselmans diffused and scattered over India, is estimated from ten to fifteen millions, and although as has been already said, the majority trace a foreign ancestry, yet there is reason to think the converts from Hinduism have been numerous. The Muselmans generally form communities separate from the Hindus, yet in many parts of India both these classes of men have considerably amalgamated, and live in as social habits as their faith will permit. It has not been unusual for Hindu princes, such as Scindia and Holkar, to conciliate their Muhammedan subjects and tributaries

proach to their Arabian, Persian, or Mogul stock. The Afghans or Patans rank in estimation after them all, as being only "borderers," or half Hindus. Wilks's Mysore, vol. 2, p. 164. A numerous class of people, chiefly Afghans, contend that the Imam Mehdy has already appeared at Jionpour. Undismayed by the argument that if he had been the real Mehdy, the world, ere this, would have been at an end, they are ready to support the dogma with the edge of the sword, that, "Mehdy has appeared, and "has passed away." By the other sects they are represented, perhaps not without reason, as ignorant, ferocious, and treacherous, and cherishing revenge for the slightest offence through ages. In all other principles they are Sonnites; but for the avoidance of religious feuds, they are every where excluded from the performance of their rites in cities and the body of the camp, from the shout of faith and defiance, offensive to all other sects, which they put forth on the 27th night of Ramadan, and on other occasions. Wilks, vol. 3, p. 290.

ties by paying their devotions at the shrines of Muhammedan saints and mixing in their feasts.* The Bohrahs were originally natives of Guzerat, and converted to the Muhammedan religion about five hundred years ago.† The Arabian traders to the coast of Malabar were earnest in converting the natives, and purchasing or procuring by other means the children of the poorer classes, and educating them in the true faith. The nicety of their observances, and the facility of losing cast among the Malabars have driven many of them to Islamism.‡ The history of the Seeks or Sikhs, who inhabit the provinces of the Panjab, situated between the rivers Jumna and Indus, is another memorable proof that the native population of India are not absolutely unchangeable in sacred, domestic, and political institutions. In the religion of this people, the fables of Muhammedanism are united with the absurdities of the Hindu superstition, for Nanac Shah, the founder of the nation, wished to harmonize both. Born in a province on the extreme verge of India, at the very point where the religion of Muhammed, and the idolatrous worship of the Hindus appeared to touch, and at a time (the middle of

The Sikhs.

* Malcolm's Evidence (on the Affairs of the East India Company). Parl. Deb. vol. 25. p. 576.

† As. Res. vol. 7, p. 336.

‡ As. Res. vol. 5, p. 7, 16.

CHAP. VII. the fifteenth century) when both tribes cherished the most violent rancour and animosity against each other, the great aim of this benevolent fanatic was to blend these jarring elements in peaceful union. He therefore respected the religious books of each people. He called upon the Hindus to abandon the worship of idols, and to return to that pure adoration of the deity, in which their religion originated. He exhorted the Muhammedans to abstain from practices (such as the slaughter of cows) which were offensive to the Gentoos. The doctrines of the Muhammedan Sooffee were also intermixed. Wherever the religion of the Sikhs prevails, the institutions of Brahma must fall. The admission of proselytes, the abolition of the distinctions of cast, the eating of all kinds of flesh except that of the cow, the form of religious worship, and the general devotion of all the people to the use of arms,* are ordinances altogether irreconcileable with Hindu mythology, and have rendered the religion of the Sikhs as obnoxious to the Brahmins and higher casts of the Hindus, as it is agreeable to the lower orders of that numerous class of mankind. Closely as the religion of the Sikhs appears to be connected with Islamism, the true Muselmans

* The Sikhs are so numerous as to be supposed able to raise 200,000 horse.

mans who dwell in the Panjab are injured and insulted by every means that an inventive cruelty can suggest. They are compelled to eat hogsflesh, and to abstain from circumcision. Dogs and other animals, accounted abominable by the Muhammedan law, are frequently cast into their place of worship, and they are prohibited by the haughty and intolerant Sikhs, from proclaiming the hour of prayer to the faithful.* CHAP. VII.

The disciples of Muhammed in India have not only become more lax in the performance of their religious duties than their brethren in the faith in Persia, Arabia, and Turkey, but seem gradually to have adopted some of the minor usages of the Hindus:† and different as are the pictures which have been drawn of the character of the native Indians, yet all observers agree in placing the Moors far lower in the scale of moral and social beings. When Mr. Hastings, with great strength of language, endeavoured to erase from the public mind the idea that the native Indians are in a complete state of turpitude, and attributed to them various social virtues, he appeared to think that the Muham-

* Malcolm's Sketch of the Sikhs, sec. 2—3. 8vo. 1812, Asiatic Annual Register, 1812, p. 8.

† Malcolm's Evidence, ubi supra.

CHAP. VII.

medans were in most respects an inferior people to the Hindus *. In the same course of evidence, in which Mr. Hastings' opinion was shewn, the intolerant, bigotted, irritable, and turbulent spirit of the disciples of Muhammed in India was borne witness to on all hands. One gentleman strongly said, they are a description of men more jealous of a violation of, or insult offered to, their habits and prejudices than any other people.† In short though the portrait of them which the historian of the Carnatic drew many years ago, may be in some parts too highly coloured, yet the general fidelity of the representation has not been denied. "A domineering insolence towards all "who are in subjection to them; ungovernable "wilfulness, inhumanity, cruelty, murders and "assassination perpetrated with the same "calmness and subtilty as the rest of their "politics, and insensibility to remorse for their "crimes, which are scarcely considered otherwise than as necessary accidents in the course "of life; sensual excesses which revolt against "nature; unbounded thirst of power, and a "rapaciousness of wealth equal to the extravagance of his propensities and vices: "—such

* Parl. Deb. vol. 25, p. 558.

† Mr. Sydenham, p. 89.

" —such is the character of an Indian Moor."* CHAP. VII.

In the Eastern Islands.

From the southernmost point of Hindustan Muhammedanism may be traced to the coasts of the Malayan peninsula, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, the Manillas, and the Celebezean Islands. The little isle of Goram, one of the Spice Islands (between Ceram and Papua), is the eastern boundary of the Muhammedan world. In this Asiatic Archipelago, Christianity and most systems of religion have root. Islamism prevails on the sea coast. The military spirit of the Saracens established their religion in most parts of Asia, but their commercial spirit seems to have carried it to these remote regions. With its actual state in many of these islands we are imperfectly acquainted: but in one of those valuable works which have illustrated the history and manners of the East, the influence of Islamism among the most interesting of all these people has been distinctly marked. In the

* Orme's India, vol. 4, p. 423. The disposition to turbulence and irritation in the Muselmans of the present day is ascribable partly to the warlike principles of their religion, and partly to the fact, that in the revolutions of India within the last century the Moors have been the chief sufferers. They have lost much of their authority and are consequently discontented. Many have been deprived of their employments in the court and field (the scenes which they usually filled) and no wonder, therefore, that the evils have ensued which are incident to the letting loose upon the world a large body of men ignorant of the peaceful arts of social life.

CHAP. VII.

the fifteenth century of our æra the religion of Arabia became established in Java, and at the period of the settling of the Dutch in Batavia (1620) all the natives, with some inconsiderable exceptions in the interior and mountainous tracts, were converted. In the present day, although the Javans feel little respect for the temples and idols of a former worship, yet they hold in veneration the laws and usages which prevailed before the introduction of Muhammedanism: and if in the breasts of some individuals the religious principle of human nature may kindle a warmer zeal, it may be fairly stated that the Javans in general, while they believe in God and his Prophet, and observe some of the Arabian forms and observances (circumcision and the Meccan pilgrimage for example) are little acquainted with the doctrines of the religion. It seems, however, that Muhammedan institutions are gaining ground, and with a free trade a great accession of Arab teachers might be expected. Property usually descends according to the Muselman law, but in other cases this code is strangely blended with the ancient usages of the country. As a nation they do not hate Europeans for being infidels. For this lukewarmness the priests, however, cannot be censured: nothing is wanting on their part to keep alive the *theologicum odium*. They preach intolerance with all possible earnestness. In the Archipelago they have generally been found

the

the great authors and promoters of insurrection. Numbers of them, usually a mixed race between the Arabs and the Islanders, travel from state to state, and at their solicitations the native chiefs plunder and massacre the Europeans as infidels and intruders.* CHAP. VII.

The established religion of Persia is Muhammedanism of the sect of Ali. In a former chapter it has been mentioned, that on the conquest of this country by the Saracens, the religion of Zoroaster was almost destroyed. The zealous worshippers of fire retired to the mountains of Persia or fled into the western parts of India. In the present day, a few thousands of them live in the city of Yezd, where they practice their old forms of worship, and are permitted to have a civil magistrate of their own tribe. The Muhammedans tolerate them that they may enjoy their triumph by protracted oppression. But their numbers daily diminish: some turn Moslems, and others join their brethren in the faith in Hindustan. These Persians in Bombay, and in other parts of India, are a wealthy and honourable class of planters and merchants. They form a distinct community, for In Persia.

* Sonnerat's Voyage à la Nouvelle Guinée. Paris, 1776. Forrest's Voyage to Guinea and the Moluccas. 4to. London, 1779. The admirable work of Marsden on Sumatra. Thunberg's Travels, vol. 2, p. 213—220. As. Res. vol. 10, p. 160, 192; and Raffles' Java, chap. 9.

CHAP. VII. for the purposes of religion and the support of their own poor; but they freely intermingle with the Hindus, the Christians, and the Jews, in social intercourse.* From the time of the introduction of Muhammedanism down to the fifteenth century, the Persians fluctuated between the Sonnite and Shiite sects. In the year 1499, Ismael, the first king of the Suffavean race, proclaimed the Shiite faith to be the national religion of Persia; and from that time to the present, a regard for its tenets has either been the cause or the pretext of almost every war in which Persia has been engaged. Surrounded by nations who profess the Sonnite doctrine, whether the Persian has been called upon to invade the territories of the Turks, the Afghans, or the Tartars, or to repel the attacks of those nations, he has been always summoned by the same watchword; and the belief that the Shiite faith was in danger has never failed to rouse him to action.† When Nadir Shah was ruler of Persia, he endeavoured to convert his subjects to the Sonnite faith, the generally received system of the Muselman nations. He knew that a similarity

* Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. 2, cap. 22. Morier's Journey through Persia, p 234. Richardson's Dissertation on the Languages of the East, p. 24, 8vo. 1778. Niebuhr, tom. 2, p. 36. 4to.

† Malcolm's Persia, vol. 2, chap. 22.

similarity of religion would facilitate the execution of his scheme of universal conquest: but the attempt failed, and the attachment of the people to the memory of Ali continues as decided as ever.* "May this arrow go to the "heart of Omar," was a frequent expression of the Persians on drawing the bow,† and when a modern traveller in this interesting country conversed with a very sensible and moderate native upon Moslem history, and praised Omar as the greatest of the Caliphs, the Shiite, overcome by the justice of the observation, yet adhering to his rooted prejudices, replied, "This is all very "true, but he was a dog after all."‡ In the despotic kingdom of Persia, the moral character of the people is formed more from the nature of the government than from religion. Muhammedanism is professed, and its ceremonies are practised.§ The higher order of clergy are usually men of learning, of mild temper, and retired habits. Some of them are elected by the

* Sir W. Jones's History of Nadir Shah, tom. 2, pasim.

† Voyages de Chardin, tom. 2, p. 240.

‡ Malcolm, vol. 2, p. 377, note.

§ The Persian citizens are but nominal Muhammedans, and the wandering tribes have even less virtue. The Kurds, for example, honestly confess that they more nearly resemble Europeans than Muhammedans, and on being questioned the points of similarity, they reply, "We eat hog's flesh, "keep no fasts, and say no prayers."

CHAP. VII. the silent but unanimous suffrage of the country in which they live, and others are appointed by the king; yet the wishes of the people are invariably consulted. They studiously avoid any open connexion with men in power, for even the appearance of such an intercourse would lose them the respect and confidence of the people, who are naturally very jealous of their independence and integrity, as the priesthood frequently protect the community from the tyranny of the crown. The chief ecclesiastics are, therefore, very careful to preserve the respect they enjoy, by cherishing those impressions that are entertained of their piety and humility. They are seldom intolerant, except in cases where they deem the interest of that religion, of which they are the head, in danger. The lower classes of the priesthood in Persia are commonly of a very opposite character to their superiors. With little knowledge, and great pretensions, they demand a reverence which they rarely receive, and are, in consequence, among the most discontented of the nation. The general disposition of the Persians to treat strangers of a different religion with kindness and hospitality, is a subject of constant irritation to them. They rail at all communication with infidels, and endeavour to obtain an importance with the lower orders of the people, by a display

a display of their bigotry and intolerance. Neither the military nobles, nor the great men of the court, are famous for their strictness in moral or religious duties. To the former, they do not even pretend to give much attention; and though they carefully observe the forms of the latter, they appear to have little respect for the substance, and are in the habit of discussing the tenets and dogmas of their faith, with a freedom that sometimes borders upon impiety.* The kings of Persia have always been observant of the forms of religion, and their natural dispositions to virtue or vice have regulated them in their practice or rejection of the moral code. They say their prayers at the appointed hours; and as it is the habit of the Moslems to perform this sacred duty in an open and public manner, its neglect would produce observation, and no impression could weaken their authority so much as a belief that they were irreligious. They

CHAP. VII.

* In Persia religion is a frequent topic of conversation; and our travellers in that country have been astonished at the freedom with which it has been discussed Colonel Malcolm heard a person of high rank exclaim, in a mixed company, in which some priests were maintaining the sacred nature of the claims of Muhammed's family. "This is all "very well for superstitious fools, who know no better; but "I have travelled and read, and have more than once met "with a dog of a Seid and an angel of a Jew." This speech produced a very hearty laugh, at the expence of the holy man who had commenced the conversation.

CHAP. VII. They sometimes attend worship in the principal mosque of the capital; and, like their subjects, pay their devotions, whenever they have an opportunity, at the sepulchres of those sainted persons who are buried within the limits of their dominions.*

In every treaty of peace between the Turks and Persians, liberty for the sectaries of Ali to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca is solemnly granted.† But as this ceremony cannot be performed without the display of some reverence for the three first Caliphs, the conscientious Persians decline the journey, while a few bigots, thinking that an outward respect to their enemies is less criminal than the neglect of a religious obligation, mingle the sinful and the virtuous acts. The mass of the Persian population are satisfied with a pilgrimage to the tomb of Ali, at Meshed-Ali, near Cusa, and to the tomb of his son, Hossein, at Meshed-Hossein near Kerbelah, within thirty miles of Cufa. These sepulchres were lately, and perhaps are still, in the hands of the Turks, who impose a heavy tax upon the pilgrims. An annual festival has been consecrated to the martyrdom of Hossein, and the Persians reverence his name, with a fervour

* Malcolm's Persia; passim.

† Sir James Porter's Observations on the Turks, chap. 1, 2d edition, 1771.

fervour which approaches to adoration. The tombs of these, and other saints of Shiite worship, have been enriched with the most magnificent presents by religious devotees. Over the shrine of Ali, the dome of copper, with its massy gilding, in the midst of a town in an elevated situation, glitters to the sun at the distance of five or six German miles, a resplendent testimony of the principles of a Persian king. Every monarch of the family of Ali has added to the sepulchral revenues.* CHAP. VII.

In the states of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, on the long coast of Northern Africa, Muhammedanism is the religion of the different governments, and generally of the people. From Arabia and Egypt it spread to the eastern and southern parts of Africa, and it was communicated to Madagascar. It is the established religion of the empire of Morocco. In the other districts of Western Barbary, and in several of the kingdoms of the interior of Africa, the Arabic language is spoken and the Koran believed.† Except in some parts of the south of the western portion of Africa, the Moors have in very few instances In Africa.

* Malcolm, vol. 2, chap. 22. Sir W. Jones's History of Nadir Shah, tom. 2, p. 155. Niebuhr, tom. 2, p. 210—220. Otter, Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, tom. 1, chap. 15. Paris, 1748.

† See the Travels of Niebuhr, Jackson, Lempriere, and Barrow.

CHAP. VII. instances established themselves southernly of the great rivers. In the western and central portions of this quarter of the globe, the line between the Muhammedans and the Pagans extends up the river Senegal to the small Moorish state of Gedumah, lat. 14° 20′. Its course thence to the northward of east, through Nigritia and Nubia to the Nile, is not yet correctly known. It is a matter of doubt whether Timbuctoo, the great emporium of central Africa, be a Moorish or a Negro town; but Muhammedanism, if not the dominant, is certainly a tolerated religion.* It appears probable, that the sovereigns of the great empires of Bornou and Kassina are Muhammedans, but that most of their subjects are Pagans or Negroes.

In all these vast territories, it is in the descendants both of the Moors from Spain, and of the tribes of Arabs who have in every period of the Hegira emigrated from the Arabian to the African desarts, that the Muhammedan population consists. A zealous Muselman must mourn over the corrupted state of his religion among the Moors. Its persecuting spirit alone is preserved. Lustrations of the body are not performed with Oriental scrupulosity; inebriating drinks,

* Jackson's Morocco, ch. 13. Park's first Mission, 4to, p. 213; and Robert Adams's Narrative, 4to. 2d. edit. p. 112, 113, 168—180.

drinks, and the flesh of swine, are freely indulged in, and the unity of the Godhead is often confounded with, or resigned for, the polytheistical notions of the descendants of the original inhabitants of the country. In point of moral character, the Muselmans are unquestionably more depraved than the Pagans. The latter class of men may be called the Hindus of Africa: but it would be libelling the Muhammedans of India, immoral as they are, to compare them with the African Moors. Our travellers in Africa have been fond of dwelling upon the subject of the hospitality which the Negroes invariably shewed them. The Muselmans constantly insulted them, on account of their religion;* and, indeed, in no quarter of the Moslem world does Islamism wear so frightful an aspect as in Africa. CHAP. VII.

In the cities of Mecca and Medina, the Sonnite Muhammedans abound. The Shiites are numerous on the borders of the Persian Gulph. Various systems, emanating from these two great divisions of Muhammedanism, are embraced by other Arabian citizens; but the Bedoweens are as licentious in their religion as in their politics. On the Turkish frontier they keep an appearance of respect for God and his Prophet; but In Arabia.

* Park's first Mission, 4to. Appendix, p. 89-92. Robert Adams's Narrative, 4to. p. 74—126.

CHAP. VII.

their doctrine and morals are so greatly relaxed, that the Turks upbraid them, with apparent justice, for infidelity. In pleasant indifference about the matter, the Bedoweens say, "the religion of Muhammed could never have been "intended for us. We have no water in the "deserts, how then can we make the prescribed "ablutions? We have no money, how then "can we give alms? The fast of Ramadan is "an useless command, to persons who fast all "the year round; and if God be every where, "why should we go to Mecca to adore him?"*

The Wahabees.

The martial spirit of the Arabians has again been sanctified by the cloak of piety. In the province of Nedsjid, the sect of Moseilamites had threatened the extinction of Muhammedanism in the lifetime of its founder. At the commencement of the last century, Abdol Wahab appeared in the same province as the reformer of the national religion. The exhortations of this ambitious fanatic, and the authority of Ebn Saoud and Abdol Aziz, successively princes of Nedsjid, spread the tenets of Abdol Wahab over all the peninsula. The unity of the Godhead is the fundamental principle of the Wahabees. They receive the Koran, but reject the fables and false glosses with which its margin

* Niebuhr's Description de l'Arabie, 4to. 16—24. Volney, tom. 1, p. 380.

margin has been crowded. The traditionary law is utterly despised by them. Various stories current in Moslem countries respecting the Prophet, are held in the same contempt. He is regarded as a man essentially mortal, though gifted with a divine mission. His memory is respected, but in order to avoid the crime of letting this proper feeling increase into adoration, all visits to his tomb are prohibited: and observing, too, that superstition had deified the departed great, they hold it a species of abominable idolatry to erect magnificent monuments to the memory of men, but to kiss relics, &c. is idolatry itself; and therefore they affirm, that it is an action acceptable to God, to destroy the sepulchres of Muhammedan saints in Arabia and Persia, and to appropriate their rich ornaments to worldly purposes, for which they were designed. To swear by Muhammed or Ali is criminal, for an oath is calling a witness to our secret thoughts, and who can know them but God? They even refuse the title of Lord to Muhammed, and mention him by his simple name, without the customary addition, "our "Lord the Prophet of God." All lamentations for the dead are impious, for if they are good Muselmans, Paradise will be their reward, and "we must not mourn for our brother's soul "being in heaven." They deem all those people

CHAP. VII.

CHAP. VII. who deviate in any way from the plain literal meaning of the Koran, infidels; and maintain, that to make war upon them is the imperious duty of every Wahabee. These rigid Unitarians would strip religion of all its external decencies. In the real spirit of religious disputants, they are as zealous about the inferior as the weightier matters of the law; have strictly forbidden the use of tobacco and silk, and cut from their heads the only tuft of hair which their early Muselman discipline had left them. But a lurking spirit of superstition has induced them to preserve the ceremonies of ablution and the Meccan pilgrimage, and even to throw stones at the Devil's house in the valley of Mina.

With the ardour of the early Saracens, they assumed a military appearance, and prepared to assail at once the consciences and the property of men. On the summons of their chief, the Wahabees assembled at Draaïya (400 miles eastward of Medina), completely armed and provided for war. They contributed a tenth of their flocks and fruits to their leader, but supported the contest at their own expense, or rather by their religious pillages. The Pachas of Bagdad, and the Scheriff of Mecca, in vain attempted their destruction; the cries of the provincials pierced the Seraglio, and the Sultan trembled at the name of Abdol Aziz. The caravans

ravans from Damascus no longer performed their usual journies; Constantinople was deprived of her supplies of coffee, and the pious Muselmans heard with horror that the shrines of Muhammedan saints in Arabia had been violated, and the chapels at Mecca, consecrated to the memory of the Prophet and his family, had been levelled with the ground. But the army of the Othmans recaptured the sacred city; and the appearance at this critical conjuncture (A. D. 1803) of the plague and small-pox among the Wahabees, saved the mighty fabric of Islamism. Abdol Aziz was assassinated—perhaps by the commands of the timid and cruel court of Constantinople. His son Saoud had already distinguished himself in the field. A second attempt on Medina was successful, and he extended his power on the Persian gulph. In 1805, the great caravan from Damascus could not obtain a passage but by heavy sacrifices; and Saoud declared it should hereafter consist of pilgrims alone, unaccompanied by the pride and pomp of a religious procession. Two years afterwards, when the Spanish Muselman was on his pilgrimage at Mecca, the Wahabees entered the city. Their zeal to perform their religious duties knew no bounds: they pressed to the black stone with tumultous haste; the lamps round the Caaba were broken by their guns; the ropes and

CHAP. VII.

buckets of Zemzem were destroyed, and the attendants of the well abandoned their posts. The city was well provisioned and fortified, but no attempt was made, and the moderation of the Wahabees, and the negociations of the Scheriff, rendered these precautions needless. During the pilgrimage to Mount Arafat, the Wahabees appeared in the valley, in number 45,000, mounted on camels and dromedaries, with 1000 other camels carrying the provisions of the camp.

Masters of the strong places on the shores of the Red Sea, and of all the Arabias (except Mokha, and some walled towns in Yemen), the Wahabees were powerful neighbours to the Pacha of Egypt. Muhammed Ali had already displayed his military abilities, by driving the Mamelukes beyond the cataracts into Dongola, and now prepared his troops to scourge the rebels in Arabia. It is said he was supplied by the English with arms, and that the Wahabees received the same assistance from the French, at that time in possession of the Isle of France. The campaign in 1812 terminated in favour of the Wahabees; but in the early part of the following year the Pacha defeated them, and the authority of the Grand Signor was re-established in Medina, Jodda, and Mecca. These events broke the martial and fanatical spirit of the Wahabees.

habees. They are still dreaded as plunderers, but they have not caused again any great national convulsion.* CHAP. VII.

In Egypt, Syria, and every part of the vast Turkish empire, though the Greek Church exists, Muhammedanism is the established and prevailing religion. It is there, indeed, that Muhammed has his most sincere and zealous disciples. It would be foreign to the purpose of these sheets to attempt a delineation of the character of the various people who constitute the population of the Othman empire. The task never has been, and perhaps never can be, well executed. "Every universal proposition," says an admirable author, "is suspicious and "liable to error, more especially when we speak "of the general character of a nation, the shades "of which are always much diversified, accord-"ing to the station, rank, temper, and profes-"sion, of every individual. Each province of "an empire is as different from the next, as "either of these differs from the capital, and "the capital from the court; where also each "family has a peculiar tint, by which the indi-"viduals of it are divided into various classes. Muhammedanism in the Othman Empire.

"If

* Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, p. 296—302. Waring's Travels in Persia, Edinburgh Review, vol. 8, p. 41—44. Malcolm's Persia, vol. 2, p. 378. n. Legh's Travels in Egypt, 27—33. Travels of Ali Bey, vol. 2.

CHAP. VII.

"If in a wood there are not two leaves which "bear a strict resemblance; if in the world "there are not two faces perfectly alike, nor "two men of exactly the same way of thinking "on every subject, how is it possible to give "the moral picture of a nation with one dash "of the pen."* But without attempting a complete development of the national character of the Turks, it will be proper to make a general comparison between Muhammedanism in Turkey (as exhibited by the most judicious observers), with the religion itself, as represented in the Koran.

Its actual state in Turkey.

Faith.

The belief of the Turks in the unity of God, and the divine mission of the last and greatest of his Prophets, is general and unreserved; for since, in the opinion of the Muselmans, the simple assent of the mind to these two great dogmas will be followed by the possession of heaven, immediately or remotely, according to the degree of virtuous conduct in the believer, we can readily conceive, that infidelity to a creed so consolatory and so easy, must be rare.

Predestination.

Among the controversies on the minor points of theology, which this general admission includes, those respecting predestination have been most numerous and unsatisfactory. Fatalism, in

* Letters from certain Jews to Voltaire (written by the Abbé Guenée), vol. 1, p. 30. English Translation.

in its unlimited extent, was a great engine by which Muhammed established his religion; but the doctors of the Mosque in these days affirm, that predestination to life eternal regards only a certain portion of the faithful, and has no relation to the moral, civil, and political state, because man is never deprived of his liberty. Supported by the authority of the ancient Imams, the Muftis declare, that whoever denies the free agency of man sins against religion, and is worthy of death. But in defiance of these sage decisions of the church, the doctrine of predestination has great practical influence among the Muhammedans. It unnerves the soul for generous and manly enterprizes, it casts a lethargy over the whole Turkish nation, checks the exertions of reason, and disposes men to wait for the sensible operations of the Deity. In some cases it is considered to relate to the foreknowledge, in others, to the positive agency of God. The Turk is keen and wise in his ordinary worldly transactions, and exercises the powers of his mind in promoting his interest; but when he is oppressed with difficulty or doubt, and a new and troubled scene is opened, he makes no effort to disperse the cloud of his misfortunes, but considers it impious to oppose the decrees of heaven. Fatal as this doctrine is to all improvement, yet it is practically useful in the hour of adversity. CHAP. VII

CHAP. VII.

adversity. Does the Muhammedan suffer by any misfortune? Is he plundered? Is he ruined? He calmly says, "It was written," and submits without a murmur to the most unexpected transition from opulence to poverty. Even on the bed of death nothing disturbs his tranquillity: he makes his ablution; repeats his prayers; professes his belief in God and his Prophet; and, in a last calm appeal to the aid of affection, he says to his son, "turn my head towards Mecca," and dies in peace.*

The respect of the Turks for Religion.

A regard to the established forms of devotion is observed by the Turks, and the neglect or contempt of them is not deemed a mark of wit or superior understanding. Hence public decorum is preserved; and although religious as well as moral precepts may be too often violated, yet they are always spoken of with respect. To defend his principles, the Muhammedan is never ashamed; and the firmness of his faith is testified by his earnestness in its vindication. Indeed the Moslems speak incessantly of their religion, and often interrupt conversation by repeating their creed. The ears of a traveller from Europe are astonished at the reiterated cries in the streets

* Tableau général d'Empire Othoman, par M. D'Ohsson, tom. I, p. 166—177, 4 tom. 8vo. Paris, 1788—1791; Russel's History of Aleppo, vol. 1, chap. 6; and Volney, ad finem.

streets of every Turkish town, of the phrase, CHAP. VII.
"Allah Acbar," and the name of God is as familiarly used by the Muselmans as it is by fanatical Christians.*

The purifications prescribed by the law of the Koran are performed by the Muselmans of every nation in Turkey with all possible strictness. No religious act is praiseworthy with God, unless the body is previously placed in a state of purity. But it is a calumny to say that the external ablutions supersede the necessity of internal purification. The professed object of the ceremonial is, the rendering of the body fit for the decorous discharge of religious duties; and so scrupulous are the Turks, that if in the course of their daily prayers they chance to receive any pollution from dirt, they suspend their devotion, until the impurity is removed by water, or other necessary means. The fountains which are placed round all the Mosques, and the baths which crowd every city, enable

Purification.

* Volney, tom. 2. ch. 40. It is no uncommon thing in the East, for young persons to know the whole of the Koran by rote. When this labour is accomplished, their relations borrow a fine horse and furniture, and carry the juvenile theologian about the town in procession, with the book in his hand, his friends following, accompanied by all sorts of the music of the country. Harmer's Observations, vol. 2, p. 413. Lond 1808.

CHAP. VII. enable the Muselmans to prepare themselves for the five daily prayers.

Prayer. At the appointed time, the Maazeen, with their faces generally turned towards Mecca, with closed eyes, and upraised hands, pace the little gallery of the Minarets, and proclaim in Arabic, (which is also the Muselman's language of prayer) that the hour of devotion is arrived.* The profound humility of the Turks is testified by every traveller. Immediately that the clear and solemn voice of the crier is heard, the Muselman, whatever may be his rank, or employment in life, gives himself up to prayer. The ministers of state suspend the transaction of public business, and prostrate themselves on the floor. The tradesman forgets his dealings with his

* These are the words of the Maazeen, "God is great, "God is great, God is great, God is great, I declare that "there is no God but God, and that Muhammed is his "Prophet. Come to prayer, come to prayer, come to the "temple of health. Great God, great God, there is no "God but God." In the morning the crier adds, "prayer "is better than sleep, prayer is better than sleep." D'Ohsson, tom. 2. p. 110. It should be noticed that the Moslems may repeat their prayers, and read the allotted portions of the Koran in every other language as well as the Arabic; for, as their divines well argue, "the dif- "ference of language makes no alteration in the sense; "and it is not possible that the *heart* should join in "what the understanding does not comprehend."

his customer, and converts his shop into a Mosque. "He is a good Muselman, he never "fails in the performance of his five Namazs "every day," is the highest praise which a Turk can receive; and so prejudicial in its consequences is the suspicion of irreligion, that even libertines neglect not attention to the external ritual. Twice, or thrice, in the course of the day, these devotions are performed in the Mosque; for the Mosques are always open. In a prostrate or erect position, the prayers are offered up, and Christians might be edified by the simple gravity and decorum of the Turks in the hour of devotion. Avowedly in opposition to the Jewish practice the Moslems keep on their boots and shoes in the Mosque: they seldom lay aside their turbans. The women in the seclusion of their chambers cover themselves with a veil in these moments of communion with Heaven.* Verses of the Koran, the names, and personal descriptions of Muhammed, of Ali and his sons, and other Moslem saints, are inscribed in letters of gold round the walls of places of public worship: but there are no altars, pictures, or statues. Persons of every rank and degree cast themselves indiscriminately on the carpeted floor, exhibiting by this voluntary sacrifice of worldly distinction,

CHAP. VII.

* D'Ohsson, tom. 2. p. 52—68. 98, 128, 158, &c. and Russel's Hist. of Aleppo, vol. 1. ch. 4.

CHAP. VII. distinction, their belief in the equality of all mankind in the sight of the Creator.* Infidels are prohibited from entering the Mosques, and the order of the Grand Sultan, or chief magistrate, can alone suspend the operation of the law.†

The Turkish Sabbath.

Friday, the sabbath of the Muselmans, is observed in a less rigorous manner than Sunday is by Protestant Christians. This consecrated period commences on the Thursday evening, when an appearance of festivity is given to the cities by the illuminated Minarets and colonnades of the Mosques. At noon on Friday, every species of employment is suspended, and the faithful repair to their temples. Prayers of particular importance and solemnity are read, which the people, making various prostrations and genuflexions, repeat after the Imans. Sermons are preached by the Sheik or Vaiz. Points of morality, and not of controversial theology, are the general subjects of their discourses. In the warmth of their sincerity, they often declaim

* D'Ohsson, tom. 2. p. 168—172.

† The Mosque of St. Sophia may be viewed by Christians, but no Muselman governor dare permit an infidel to pass into the territory of Mecca or into the temple of Jerusalem. A permission of this kind would be looked upon as a horrid sacrilege; it would not be respected by the people, and the infidel would become the victim of his imprudent boldness. Travels of Ali Bey, vol. 2, p. 215.

claim against political corruption and the de- CHAP. VII.
pravity of the court. In times of public commotion, they irritate or appease the popular tumult, and the eloquence of a preacher in the Mosque of Saint Sophia has made a weak and voluptuous Sultan tear himself from the silken web of his Harem, and lead his martial subjects to the plains of Hungary. The prayers and preaching being concluded, every body returns to his ordinary occupations or amusements. The day is, however, observed in the manner prescribed by the law by all ranks of persons, and the words of the Prophet are never forgotten, that he, who without legitimate cause absents himself from public prayer for three successive Fridays, is considered to have abjured his religion.* The Namaz, the prayer in general use, is chiefly a confession of the divine attributes and of the nothingness of man, a solemn act of homage and gratitude to the eternal majesty. The faithful are forbidden to ask of God the temporal blessings of this frail and perishable life; the only legitimate object of the supplicatory part of the Namaz is spiritual gifts and the ineffable advantages of eternal felicity.† The Turks may pray, however, for

 the

* D'Ohsson, tom. 2, p. 192—222. 369—373.

† Thornton's Present State of Turkey, p. 253.

CHAP. VII.

the health of the Sultan, the prosperity of the country, and division and wars among Christians.

Fast of Ramadan.

In the religion of ceremonies and prayer, no sacred institution is more strictly and generally observed by the Turks than the Fast of Ramadan. A violation of it by any individual, subjects him to the character of an infidel and apostate; and the deposition of two witnesses to his offence renders him worthy of death. Perfect abstinence from every kind of support to the body, and even from the refreshment of perfumes, is observed from the rising to the setting of the sun. The rich and pious Moslem passes the hours in meditation and prayer; the luxurious grandees sleep the tedious time away; but the industrious mechanic feels in his daily labour the rigour of the fast. When the month of Ramadan happens in the extremities of the seasons, the prescribed abstinence is almost intolerable, and is "more severe than the practice of any moral duty even to the most vicious and depraved of mankind." The business of worldly traffic is suspended through the day. At night, however, the Mosques and Bazaars are lighted with innumerable lamps; and travellers to Constantinople have expressed much admiration of the generally splendid appearance of the streets. The coffee-houses are not shut till the morning; and

and as both Christians and Jews conform to this midnight revelry, the streets are filled with a mixed concourse of people. Every night of this consecrated season is some appointed feast among the officers of the court. The Turkish individual divests himself of his usual reserve; and this is the only season of the year when friends and relations cement their union by social intercourse. Nocturnal banquets of a most sumptuous nature are prepared; and the amenity and conviviality would be perfect, if the law for the exclusion of women from the tables of the men were suspended.* CHAP. VII.

In every quarter of the Moslem world, the importance of the pilgrimage to Mecca is highly estimated; and yet the most intelligent travellers point out to us, as a striking mark of the prevailing laxity of manners, the fact that the number of pilgrims annually decrease. The weaker sex, the men of rank, and all who cannot desert their official charges, perform this arduous duty by the devotions of an appointed friend; and the legality of the performance of this obligation by a substitute is an unquestionable point. The pilgrimage is made an affair of state; and although every individual furnishes his own viaticum, yet the grand Sultan preserves the Pilgrimage to Mecca.

* D'Ohsson, liv. 4, chap. 1. Russel's Aleppo, ch. 4. Dallaway's Constantinople, p. 81.

CHAP. VII. public ways, and the best soldiers of the empire are charged with the protection of the caravans. Every year from Damascus and Grand Cairo, the devout Moslems depart in solemn and magnificent procession; and the native band of the Turks is swelled in the desert by the Moors of every part of Africa and Asia. From the shores of the Atlantic on the one hand, and the most remote parts of the East on the other, the votaries of the Prophet are seen in the roads to Mecca.* The common horrors of the desert are despised by fanaticism, but the harassing depredations of the roving Arabs, who respect not the religion nor fear the sword of the pilgrims, almost exhaust the fidelity of the Moslems. On arriving at the precincts of the Holy Land, the devotees make a general ablution with water and sand, repeat a prayer naked, and clothe themselves with the Ihram or sacred habit, which consists only of two colourless woollen cloths, and sandals defending the soles of the feet, but leaving the rest bare. They utter a particular invocation and advance to Mecca. Spiritual meditation is now to be their employment, worldly occupations and pleasures are forbidden, and the Emperor Julian

* During my residence in India, the Nabob of Arcot and other Muhammedan princes sent ships annually to the Red Sea, in order to accommodate the Meccan pilgrims with a passage to Jodda, the port where they usually landed. Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, vol. 3, p. 136.

Julian himself would delight in the ritual which permits any vermin on the body to wander with impunity. When arrived at Mecca the chief ceremonies begin.* Like the pagan Arabs of old, sometimes by running and at other times by walking, they encircle the Caaba seven times. They repeat different prayers and drink copiously from the inexhaustible Zemzem. The sacred black stone is ardently kissed, and these chaste salutations have made it of a muscular appearance, and the part uncovered by silver has lost nearly twelve lines of its thickness. They walk between Saffa and Moreva seven times. Their heads are then shaved, and even this simple ceremony is sanctified by prayer. The Caaba is open three days.† On the first and second, the men and women alternately offer up their devotions, and on the third, the scheriff of Mecca, the chiefs of the tribes and the illustrious strangers in the city wash and sweep the temple. The water, foul with the dirt of the Caaba, is eagerly caught and drank by the surrounding fanatics. The brooms of

* It should be observed that the absurd ceremonies of the pilgrimage are not defended by the Muselman doctors, except on the argument of ordinance or custom.

† Ali Bey is incorrect in stating that the Caaba is open only three days in the year. Pitts was four months at Mecca, and was twice in the Caaba. It is opened once every six weeks.

CHAP. VII.

palm leaves are treasured as relics. The purification is completed by cutting off that part of the black cloth that surrounds the door and bottom of the building, and dividing it among the pilgrims. A visit to the neighbouring mountain of Arafat is the next part of the duty. This visit is called the feast of sacrifice, and can only be performed at a certain time (two months and ten days) after the fast of Ramadan. The best of supplications, say the traditions, is on this day, whether offered at Arafat or elsewhere. The afternoon prayer is repeated in the tents, and the pilgrims repair to the foot of the mountain to watch the setting of the sun. At the instant it disappears, the multitude leave the place, and with the utmost haste endeavour to reach a small chapel called Mosdelifa, before the last moment of twilight, in order to repeat the prayer of the setting sun and the night prayer at the same time.* "It is in the valley "round Mount Arafat, says the Spanish Musel- "man, that the grand spectacle of the pil- "grimage

* This is Ali Bey's account. When Pitts was at Mount Arafat, the people remained till after the setting of the sun, repeated the suitable prayer, received the title of Hagge from the Imam, and moved on the road to Mecca, p. 96. The hasty departure from Arafat is not orthodox. The Prophet directed the people to go leisurely. Mischat ul Masabih, vol. 1, p. 627. Considerable latitude, however, is allowed with respect to the order of the pilgrimage, p. 638.

" grimage must be seen; an innumerable crowd CHAP. VII.
" of men from all nations, and of all colours,
" coming from the extremities of the earth,
" through a thousand dangers to adore together
" the same God. The native of Circassia
" presents his hand in a friendly manner to the
" Ethiopian, or the Negro of Guinea; the
" Indian and the Persian embrace the inhabitant
" of Barbary and Morocco; all looking upon
" each other as brothers, or individuals of the
" same family united by the bands of religion;
" and the greater part speaking or understanding
" more or less the same language, the language
" of Arabia." On the morning after the journey to Mount Arafat, the pilgrims go to Mina, near whose fountain the devil built himself a house. A few small stones, (an uneven number) which each of the pilgrims had collected the preceding evening at Mosdelifa, they cast at the house, not so much with a view to injure the building as to shew their detestation of its owner. Two pillars erected by or to the devil are likewise assailed. A sacrifice of a goat, a camel, or a cow, is then made, in commemoration of Abraham's obedience to the divine command by the intended sacrifice of his son.* In the intervals between

 this

* Hedaya, xliii. The sacrifice must annually be made by all Muselmans who have the ability, either in their own houses or in the valley. Ishmael, and not Isaac, it is thought by the Arabs, was the son whom Abraham offered. Koran, xxxvii.

CHAP. VII.

this religious rite and other ceremonies the pious Moslem runs to Mecca, kisses the sacred stone, and circumambulates the Caaba. The pilgrims stay three days in the valley of Mina, then return to Mecca, and speedily depart for their several countries.

Commercial ideas and objects are mingled with those of devotion. "It shall be no crime "in you," says the Koran, "if ye seek an in- "crease from your Lord, by trading during the "pilgrimage." The numerous camels of the different caravans are laden with those commodities of every country which are of easiest carriage, and most ready sale. The holy city is crowded, not only with devotees, but opulent merchants; and in more splendid days than the present of Meccan history,* the fair of Mecca was the greatest, perhaps, on the face of the earth. Still, however, there is some commerce. The productions and manufactures of India are the important articles in the traffic, which are disseminated through every part of Asia and Africa.

* The last account we have had of Mecca, represents it to us as a city fast sinking to ruin. Its population has been 100,000 souls; it now does not exceed 18,000. The people are wretchedly poor, and ignorant even of the most common mechanical arts. A large part of the suburbs is in decay, and two-thirds of the remaining houses are empty. Were it not for the pilgrimage, the metropolis of Islamism would soon sink into a mere hamlet.

Africa. These Indian commodities are so various as to suit the taste of mankind in every climate, and in different stages of improvement, and are in high request among the rude natives of Africa, as well as the luxurious inhabitants of Asia. In order to supply their usual demands, the caravans return loaded with the muslins and chintzes of Bengal and the Deccan, the shawls of Cashmire, the pepper of Malabar, the diamonds of Golconda, the pearls of Kilkau, the cinnamons of Ceylon, and the spices of the Moluccas.* CHAP. VII.

The

* Volney, tom. 2, p. 251, &c. D'Ohsson, tom. 3, p. 132, 250, &c. Robertson's Disquisition on Ancient India, p. 146, 4to. D'Herbelot, Bib. Orient. art. Hagge and Haggi. The word Haggi is an empty title of honour frequently assumed by the pilgrims. The Haggis, as well as the Seids (descendants of Muhammed), and the inferior Moollahs (priests and lawyers), so frequently impose on the credulity and piety of their Moslem brethren, that they are generally received by men of understanding with great suspicion. The Orientalists always illustrate their reasonings by anecdotes. The following one is applicable to the present occasion:—A man once purchased a fine bunch of grapes, from a person who sat behind a small window. After he had paid his money, he took hold of the end of the bunch, but in pulling it through the lattice, every grape fell on the inside, and he held nothing but the bare stalk. "Oh, Seid! O Moollah! O Haji!" he exclaimed. The man within instantly opened the door, and said, "You know me, then, my friend?" "I never saw you before," replied the customer, "but I was quite convinced, that no one that had not a right to all these sacred titles, could ever have played me such a trick."

CHAP. VII.

Interdicted Meats.

The Muhammedans seldom violate the interdictions from certain meats mentioned in the Koran. Their repasts are simple and frugal. The Great Bajazet, and some other Sultans, scandalised the Moslems by the practice of drunkenness, but such instances of vice have been comparatively rare. The priests and the lawyers are abstemious, but the dervises, though devoted to a monastic life, openly and repeatedly violate the injunctions of the Prophet.

Wine.

Though drunkenness can never be charged against the Turks as a national vice, yet their prejudices against the use of wine are gradually relaxing. The Janizaries upon service drink without reserve, and their carousals with the Christians and Jews are notorious. The terrors with which the civil magistrates are armed against drunkards, drive the man of rank to the secrecy of his harem, and prevent his vice from becoming an example to the people.

It is the unchangeable opinion of Asiatics, that the sole pleasure of wine consists in its inebriating effects: the Turk, therefore, despises the small glasses of the Europeans, and the Persian justifies his occasional excessive intoxication, by thinking that "there is equal sin in a glass as in a flaggon."* Strong distilled waters from

* Russel, vol. 1, ch. 3. Malcolm's Persia, vol. 2, p. 585. Chardin, tom. 2, p. 344.

from Zante and Corfu are openly sold, and brandy is common in the Levant. With an admirable casuistry, the Muselman silences his conscience by the remark, that fire, which purifies all things, has destroyed and dissipated the impure parts of the wine, and that Muhammed has no where nominally interdicted brandy. The Greeks, who inhabit the isles of the Archipelago, so famous in ancient times for the juice of their grapes, make wine the great article of commerce. The vineyards are often the property of the Turks, but they leave to the infidel the task of preparing the produce for sale. The state itself connives at this jesuitical evasion of that law, which renders invalid the sale of prohibited articles of food, and accepts a tax from the cultivator of the soil and the merchant of the wine. A Muselman may carry wine for an infidel, and the wages are lawful gain. Some conscientious doctors have doubted this point, but the argument of the great Haneefa is, that the sin lies only in the drinking of wine, which is the act of a free agent; that carrying it is no ways allied to the drinking of it, but only that the porter himself should obtain the reward of his labours.* CHAP. VII.

The intoxicating effects of opium were offensive to the moral purity of the doctors of the Mosque: Opium.

* Hedaya, xliv.

CHAP. VII. Mosque: long and vehement have been the disputes respecting its legality; but as the letter of the law opposes not the use of it, the Muselman indulges his passion for this substitute for the juice of the grape: and although an opium-eater is a word of contempt for a person of an irregular and extravagant turn of mind, yet it is the great and general luxury of the Turkish nation.* The Muhammedan precepts against gaming are observed in Turkey. Chess is their favourite amusement, but other motives than those of gain must have occasioned their singular proficiency. Wagers on any trial of skill, or common event, are deemed unlawful.†

Gaming.

Proselytism

The Indian and African Moors feel in its full force the saying of Muhammed, that, for the purpose of converting the infidels, war is the ordinance of God, and must be waged in all ages. But the Turks have, as a people, little desire for proselytism; and, by a refinement in uncharitableness, they think the conversion of the world unworthy their endeavours. Sometimes, however, a pious Muselman, instigated by zeal or personal attachment to a Christian or a Jew, lifts up his hands and exclaims, "Great "God, enlighten this infidel, and graciously "dispose

* Russel's Aleppo, vol. 1, ch. 3. D'Ohsson, tom. 4, p. 22—76. Porter's Observations on the Turks, ch. 14.

† Dallaway's Constantinople, page 81.

" dispose his heart to embrace thy holy reli- CHAP. VII.
" gion." When devout persons propose their faith to the acceptance of a youth, whom they esteem for his talents or his knowledge, they do it with an air of urbanity, and in language of persuasion. The zeal of the missionary is bounded by the rules of good breeding, and a vague answer, or silence, is received as an indication that the subject ought not to be continued. Though a Muselman may pray for the conversion of infidels, yet he is forbidden to implore the divine blessing upon them.* " Pray " not for those whose death is eternal," is a precept of the Muhammedan church; and " defile not thy feet by passing over the graves " of men, the enemies of God and his Pro- " phet." Thus, as an acute writer has remarked, the Muhammedans in the present day deal out damnation, though not fire and faggot, to all other sects.†

In every part of Turkey, Christianity is tole- Toleration.
rated on certain pecuniary conditions, and the insatiable avarice of the Turks is the potent preservative of such Christians and Jews as dwell among them. These infidels are an inexhaustible treasure to the government and to powerful individuals, and protection is dearly purchased.

* D'Ohsson, tom. 4, p. 275. Thornton, p. 282.

† Hume's Natural History of Religion, section 7.

CHAP. VII. purchased. Indeed, it is a principle of Moslem law, that infidels must pay double taxes to the state. The first effort of Muhammedan education is to root in the minds of children an abhorrence of Christians and Jews; and infants are taught to distinguish them by the name of Ghiaour.* The Christians are treated by the Muhammedans with a cruelty, which varies itself in a thousand forms. They are interdicted from the pomp of processions, the sound of bells or of psalmody, and every public demonstration of worship. In the cities of Islamism, the Christian must erect no new churches, and heavy fines to the government increase the expense of repairing the old. The towns and villages, however, are excepted from this stern interdict. The reasons for the rule and the exception are, that as the tokens of Islamism (such as public prayer, festivals, and so forth) are exhibited in cities, *Zimmees* (tributary infidels) should not be permitted to celebrate the tokens of infidelity there; but as these tokens do not appear in villages or hamlets, there is no occasion to prevent the construction of churches and synagogues in those places. The public and private buildings of

* The word Ghiaour is derived from Guebre, or Ghebr, a Persian word, signifying a worshipper of fire. It has for many ages been the general title of those who profess not the faith of Muhammed, whether Zoroastrians, Christians, or Jews.

of the Christians are measured by a diminutive standard;* in the streets and baths they must give way to the meanest of the people; their very dress is commanded to be different from that of the Moslems;† and in but few cities dare they violate the law by appearing on horseback. According to the Muhammedan jurisprudence, a Moslem may be put to death for the murder of a tributary infidel; but it would be difficult for the friends of a murdered Christian to obtain legal justice. The wives of the Muselmans must not associate with the wives of Jews and Christians; and a mark must be set on the dwellings of the infidels, in order that beggars who come to their doors may not pray for them.‡ In the greetings of these different people, the word Salam is carefully avoided by the Turks, on account of its affinity to the sacred words, Eslam and Moslem, and happy is the Christian, if to the most courteous salutation of his Muhammedan lord, is not added the epithet of infidel or dog.§ CHAP. VII.

The

* D'Ohsson, tom. 4, p. 235.

† Reland, de Religione Muham., p. 19, lib. 2, 8vo. Ultraj, 1705.

‡ Hedaya, ix. 49.

§ Volney, tom. 2, p. 367. Le caractère de la multitude n'est pas de garder un juste milieu. Superstitieux ou réformateur le peuple multiplie ou anéantit, mais toujours par fanatisme, les cérémonies de son culte. Dans des religions humaines,

CHAP. VII.

The religious tyranny of the Turks is, however, considerably relaxed in favour of one particular sect of Christians. The country of the Maronites extends from the ridge of Mount Libanus to the shores of Tripoli. In the gradual descent, each variety of soil and climate is afforded, from the holy cedars erect under the weight of snow, to the vine, the mulberry, and the olive tree of the valley. The name of a monastery, or of a religious devotee, gave an appellation to one of those large bodies of Christians, who in the fifth century distracted the world by their controversies respecting the incarnation of Christ. The eastern church adopted doctrines different from the Maronites, and the family

The Maronites.

humaines, les prêtres ne manquent pas d'entretenir cet enthousiasme, le plus solide appui de leur autorité. C'est ce que le commerce des Indiens, des Parses, et des Mahométanes m'a donné occasion de remarquer. Mais j'ai trouvé moins de fureur, moins d'inhumanité parmi les ignorans décidés et de bonne foi, que chez les demi-savans. Par exemple, rien n'est plus dur dans ses conséquences qu'elle tire de ses dogmes théologiques, que la religion Mahométane, qui se donne le fléau de l'Idolâtrie. Ses sectateurs ont une roideur de caractère qui vient de l'orgueil qu'elle leur inspire. Leur zèle resserré dans un petit nombre d'usages, n'en est que plus ardent. Les Indiens, au contraire, livrés au culte d'une multitude de Dieux dont ils n'étudient point la nature, sont généralement plus indulgens et plus sociables. Zend Avesta, traduit par A. du Perron. Vol. 2, p. 528. 4to. 1771.

family of Constantine persecuted them with fire and sword. In the twelfth century, the Maronites renounced the error of the Monothelites, that though there were two natures, yet that there was but one will in Christ, and accepted the protection of the Church of Rome. The supremacy of the Pope is merely nominal, for the clergy elect their own spiritual chiefs, and despise the regulation of the Latin church for the celibacy of the priests. In the ancient monastery of Canubin, the patriarch is called the patriarch of Antioch, the title which John Maron, the founder of the sect, assumed. All the ceremonies of religion are performed among them without restraint. There are nine bishops, one hundred and fifty priests, and one hundred and twenty thousand secular members. Each village has its chapel and priest, and each chapel has its bell, a privilege enjoyed by Christians in few other parts of Turkey;* for the sound of a bell is an abomination to the devout ear of a Muselman. They assume also the right of wearing the green turban, which, except in their territories, would cost a Christian his life.† CHAP. VII.

* Naxos and Patmos have the sublime privilege of enjoying the noise of bell ringing.

† There is a college at Rome for the gratuitous education of the Maronite youth. The most distinguished scholar it has produced was Jos. Simon Assemannis, the able defender

CHAP. VII.

Alms-giving, hospitality, and benevolence.

The exhortations to pecuniary charity, with which the Koran abounds,* have been always observed by the Muselmans, and benevolence is a great characteristic of the Turkish nation. The purse of the wealthy is at the command of relations and strangers, and the infrequent appearance of beggars among an indolent people, where the police is miserably regulated, is a convincing proof of the pecuniary bounty of the Turks. Khans, or caravanserais, for the accommodation of

der of his sect. See his Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino Vaticano, tom. 1 fol. p. 496. The antiquities of the Maronites are stated at great length in the second volume of La Roque's Voyage de Syrie et de Mont Liban; Niebuhr's Voyage, tom. 2, p. 346; but the most interesting account is given by the best of all travellers, Volney, tom. 2, p. 8—32. The cedar trees, so often mentioned in the Old Testament as the proud ornament of Mount Libanus, and alluded to by Theophrastus on account of their immensity, are now few in number. When Volney travelled, only four or five large ones remained, tom. 1, p. 264.

* Muhammed's general exhortations to charity in the Koran, are well qualified by a story in the Traditions. A man came to him, and exclaimed, "O Prophet, I am poor!" "Poverty is my glory," replied Muhammed. Another person came afterwards, and used exactly the same phrase; but Muhammed said to him, "Poverty causes men to blush in "both worlds."—"You wonder," observed the Prophet to his companions, "at the apparent inconsistency of my "answers to two men seemingly of the same condition: "but the first of these men is virtuous, and has, from "principle, abandoned the world; the second fellow has "no such merit, the world has abandoned him."

of travellers, hospitals, and other charitable insti- CHAP. VII.
tutions, adorn every Turkish city; and on the various high roads of the empire, public and private benevolence has provided for the defence and support of the indigent traveller. The hospitality of Oriental nations is proverbial.* It extends, like Christian love, to all persons without regard to religious distinctions. Its laws give a title, not only to common civility, but to protection. If a man claims the hospitality of an Arab, the savageness of his spirit is softened into peace, and he will risk his life in defence of his guest. "We have eaten bread and salt "together," is still the simple expression of mutual amity, and although the houses of the nobility are not considered as asylums, in cases where the law has been grossly violated, yet in slight offences, a great man will exert his interest in behalf of a person in distress, who has fled to his porch, and claimed the rights of hospitality.

The benevolence of the Muselmans extends to the animal creation, and it is an established

* Muhammed enjoins hospitality to be shewn even to those persons who have formerly withheld it. But as Don Quixote fancied every inn a gentleman's seat, Muhammed cautions people not to mistake private houses for inns. He says, "It is not right for a guest to stay so long as to incommode his host." Mischat, vol. ii. p. 329—331.

CHAP. VII.

article in the Moslem's belief,* that the irrational animals will be judged on the last day, and have mutual vengeance for the injuries they have done each other in this life. From feelings of compassion, hunting is held in abhorrence by the Turks, and birds are seldom deprived of their liberty. According to popular tradition, Muhammed was kind to the domestic animal the cat.† Its gravity of deportment and independent indifference, well accord with the sullen solemnity and pride of the Turks. Though they are far too cleanly to admit them to touch their persons, yet they are received in their houses; the dog is not treated with the same benevolent attention. The prejudices of the Asiatic against him frequently appear in the Scriptures of the Jews: his touch is deemed contagious, and his very name is the Turk's bitterest expression of contempt. But although he is not allowed to approach within the precincts of their houses, or the courts of the mosques, yet thousands disturb the peace and the cleanliness of the streets. They are fed by the liberal inhabitants, and Tournefort even assures us, that testamentary

* Koran, ch. 6, and Sale's note and Prelim. Disc. sec. 4.

† Labat's Mémoires du Chevalier D'Arvieux, tom. 3, p. 227. Cats are not unclean animals; therefore they may eat and drink of the same things as the faithful do. But if a dog drink in the vessel of a believer it must be washed seven times. Mischat, vol. 1, p. 108.

tamentary donations are often made for their support. They are more kindly cherished in the country than in the capital, and are admitted to a companionship with the shepherds and wandering tribes.* They watch their flocks, guard their tents, and aid them in their field sports. CHAP. VII.

"In the East," as Mr. Burke has correctly remarked in one of his letters on a Regicide Peace, "polygamy and divorce are in discredit, "and the manners correct the laws." The wealthy Muselmans are as profligate as the wealthy Christians; but the Turk, in the common walks of life, generally attaches himself to the society of one woman. His avarice is the surest preservative of the union, for if the divorce be at his instigation, his wife will reclaim the dowry which she brought him at the marriage.† The two great causes of divorce in other countries, incompatibility of temper and adultery, are not much known in Turkey. The little intercourse between the married parties, the seclusion of women from general society, the universality of Polygamy. Divorce.

* D'Ohsson, tom. 2, p. 53, and tom. 4, p. 308. Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, tom. 2, p. 355, Lyons, 1707. Labat, tom. 3, p. 223. La Roque's Voyage en Palestine, p. 181—184. Russel's Aleppo, vol. 1. chap. 5.

† Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, p. 62—66. Russel, vol. 1, chap. 6. Labat, tom. 3, p. 311. Thornton, p. 342. Dallaway, p. 32.

CHAP. VII.

marriage, are customs which favor not the existence of either of these evils. Divorce too is checked by Oriental delicacy; for nothing can be more abhorrent to this feeling than for a husband to allow other men to see a woman who has been his wife.

The Turkish Clergy.

Of the Turkish hierarchy some ideas should be formed. As the Koran was supposed to be the treasure of divine and human laws, and as the Caliphs were the depositaries of this treasure, they became at once pontiffs, legislators, and judges; and the sacerdotal, regal, and judicial officers were united in their persons. We have mentioned in another chapter that the title of Caliph was acquired by Selim the First. The Grand Sultan is also stiled the *Sultandin*, the protector of the faith, the *Padishah-Islam*, or emperor of Islamism, and the *Zil-Ullah*, or shadow of God. The administrators of the various powers which are centered in the Sultan's person form the body of the learned men called the Oulema. Three descriptions of persons constitute this assembly. The first are the ministers of religion, called the Imams; the second the expounders of the law, called the Muftis; and the third the ministers of justice, called the Cadis.* The chief Imams are part of the Oulema;

* Upon the political importance of this body as a barrier between the sovereign and the people it belongs not to the office

Oulema; the inferior clergy are not. The immediate ministers of religion are of five descriptions: 1st. The Sheiks, or ordinary preachers in the Mosques; 2d. The Khatibs, readers or deacons, who, in imitation of the Prophet or Caliphs, and in the name, and under the sacerdotal authority of the Sultan, discharge the function of an Imam or high priesthood, and read the prayers on Fridays; 3d. The Imams, a general title for the priests, who perform the service in the Mosque on ordinary days, and who consecrate the ceremonies of circumcision, marriage, and burial; 4th. The Maazeens or criers; 5th. The Cayims or common attendants of the Mosque. CHAP. VII.

The numbers of the priests attached to the different Mosques are various. The imperial temples have one Sheik, one Khatib, two, three,

office of a writer to dwell, whose subject is the Muhammedan religion, and the history of its promulgation and establishment. But we may briefly observe, that if the Koran be the rule of the Sultan's conduct, the Oulema are interpreters of that book, and therefore no measure of state can be executed without the Fetra or decree of that assembly. The Sultan, it is true, may depose their president, the Grand Mufti; but this power is of little use, for the Oulema being a large body, various parties are formed in it, and the persons of the members being sacred, they can, and frequently do, oppose with impunity the wishes of the Court. Sir James Porter's Observations on the Turks, 2nd edition, 1771, Preface.

CHAP. VII. or four Imams, twelve Maazeens, and twenty Cayims. Except in the fourteen principal Mosques of Constantinople, the Khatibs enjoy a pre-eminence over the rest of the clergy. The ministers are appointed by the founders of the temple, subject to confirmation by the Muftis in the capital, and by the representative of the Grand Sultan in the provinces. The Oulemas enjoy various privileges: for more than three centuries they have been free from taxation and arbitrary confiscation.* The ministers of religion throughout the Turkish empire are subordinate to the civil magistrate, who exercises over them the power of a diocesan. He has the privilege of superseding and removing those whose conduct is reproachable, or who are unequal to the dignified discharge of the duties of their office. The magistrates themselves may perform all the sacerdotal functions; and it is in virtue of this prerogative, joined to the influence which they derive from their judicial power and riches, that they have so marked a pre-eminence, and so preponderant an authority, as they actually enjoy, over the ministers of public worship. The priests in their habits of life are not distinguishable from other citizens; they mix in the same society, engage in similar pursuits, and their conduct is

* Thornton, p. 260. D'Ohsson, tom. 4, p. 483, 586—600.

is not characterized by greater austerity than marks the behaviour of other Muselmans. Their influence on the secular members of the church is entirely dependent on their reputation for learning and talents, or gravity and moral conduct. They are seldom the professed instructors of youth, much less of men, and by no means are they considered as the directors of consciences. They merely chaunt aloud the public service, and perform offices which the master of a family can also discharge. The Turks know nothing of those expiatory ceremonies which give so much influence to the Catholic priesthood: all the practices of their religion can be, and often are, performed without the interference of priests.* CHAP. VII.

In a view of Islamism the state of its fanatics deserves attention, This opprobrious title was, in the early days of Moslem history, applicable to all the followers of Muhammed; but in these times, fanaticism supports not so much the religion itself, as various deviations from it. Under the name of Sooffees, Fakirs, and Dervises, the enthusiasts of Muhammedanism are spread from the Atlantic to the Ganges.† The holy Fanatics of Muhammedanism.

* Thornton's Turkey, p. 261.

† Tavernier, Voyage des Indes, liv. 3, ch. 2 and 6, Paris, 1679. Chenier, Recherches sur les Maures, tom. 3, p. 146. Forbes's Oriental Memoirs, vol. 2, p. 230. The Arabic

CHAP. VII.

holy mendicants of the Turkish empire are divided into thirty-two sects. They pass their days and nights in prayer, fasting, and in every species of bodily pain and mortification. Ceremonies similar to incantations, violent dances, frightful gesticulations, repetitions of the name of Allah, for hours, nay days together, impress the vulgar with a sense of their spiritual superiority. The Turkish Sultans have attempted their suppression; but a reverence for them is so closely interwoven with the prejudices of the nation, that in this instance, it has been shewn, despotism has its limits.* If the subject were to be closely examined, it would be found that enthusiasm in all religions, and in every system of philosophy, is nearly the same.

Dervises, Fakirs.

Arabic word Sooffee, which means wise, pious, and metaphorically used to denote a religious man, is supposed to be derived from the word Saaf, pure, clean, or Suffa, which signifies purity. Some have traced it to Soof, wool, or wool-bearing, in allusion to the coarse woollen garments usually worn by its teachers. Others from Safa, one of the stations round the Caaba, and perhaps the Greek word σοφοι was adopted by the Arabs. The word Fakir is the Arabic, and Dervische or Dervise the Turkish and Persian term, for a mendicant. Malcolm's Persia, vol. 2, p. 384, note. D'Ohsson, tom. 4, p. 618. D'Herbelot, art. Fakir, Dervische, and Sofi..

* D'Ohsson, tom. 4, p. 616—686. Voyage de P. della Vallé, Letter 6.

same.* Pretensions to a familiar intercourse with the Deity constitute its very essence. The philosophers of Greece, the disciples of mystical theology, and the Muhammedan Fakir, all claim a sublime spirituality above natural feelings and visible objects. It would be impossible to trace a perfect picture of Muhammedan fanaticism, yet as the disciples of the Arabian Prophet have often adopted the doctrines of the Sooffees of Persia, a general notion of the subject may be gained

* Yet if the name enthusiast comprises the idea of an imagination unrestrained by reason, our application of it to persons who spend their lives in meditation should be made with caution. When we are told that there have been men, who were successively, for ages past, in the daily habit of abstracted contemplation, begun in the earliest period of youth, and continued in many to the maturity of age, each adding some portion of knowledge to the store accumulated by his predecessors, it is not assuming too much to conclude, that as the mind, like the body, ever gathers strength by exercise, so in such an exercise it may have acquired a faculty of abstraction to which they aspired, and that their collective studies may have led them to the discovery of new tracks and combinations of sentiment, totally different from the doctrines with which the learned of other nations are acquainted; doctrines, which however speculative and subtle, still as they possess the advantage of being derived from a source so pure from every adventitious mixture, may be equally founded in truth with the most simple of our own. Mr. Hastings' letter to Mr. Smith, prefixed to Dr. Wilkins' translation of the Bhagvat Geeta, p. 9, 4to. London, 1785.

CHAP. VII. gained by considering the principles of Sooffeeism.

Sooffees of Persia.

The necessity of an unceasing adoration of the Deity, and an ardent desire of a perfect union with him, are constantly inculcated by the Sooffees. The great Creator is, according to their belief, diffused over all his creation: he exists every where, and in every thing. They compare the emanations of his divine essence, or spirit, to the rays of the sun; which are, they conceive, continually darted forth and re-absorbed. It is for this reabsorption in the divine essence, to which their immortal part belongs, that they continually sigh. They believe that the soul of man, and that the principle of life, which exists throughout nature, are not *from* God, but *of* God. Hence an equality of nature, between the creature and the Creator. A long course of discipline and contemplation is necessary, before the Sooffee disciple can reach the state of divine beatitude: a strict conformity to the established religion, and the practice of every social virtue, are required of the candidates for initiation. When habits of mental devotion have been gained, he may exchange what they call practical, for spiritual worship, and abandon the observance of all religious forms and ceremonies. He afterwards is supposed to become inspired, and to reach the state of the angels. He then

then arrives at truth, his corporeal veil is removed, and his emancipated soul mixes again with the glorious essence from which it has been partially separated. A blind submission to inspired teachers (mark the union of enthusiasm and priestcraft) is particularly inculcated, and the possibility, through fervent piety and enthusiastic devotion, of attaining for the soul, even while the body inhabits the earth, a state of celestial beatitude. The life of the Sooffees of Persia, though generally austere, is not rendered miserable, by the practice of those dreadful severities which are common among the visionary devotees in Hindustan. The most celebrated teachers of the Sooffee tenets in Persia have been famed for knowledge, as well as for their piety. Among the men of genius who have illustrated the sect, poets have been conspicuous. The natives of Persia are enthusiastically devoted to the charms of poetry. The meanest artisan of the principal cities of that kingdom can read or repeat the choicest poems of the most admired writers, and even the rude and unlettered soldier quits his tent to listen with rapture to the minstrel who sings a mystic song of divine love, or recites the tale of a battle of his forefathers. The very essence of Sooffeeism is poetry. The extravagant raptures of genius, expatiating on

an

CHAP. VII. an inexhaustible subject, are deemed inspirations from heaven, by those who believe that the emancipated soul can unite itself with the Creator. The Musnavi of Jella-u-Deen, which teaches in the sweetest strains that all nature abounds with a divine love, which causes even the lowest plant to seek the sublime object of its desire; the works of the celebrated Jami, which breathe in every line the most extatic rapture; the moral lessons of Sadi, and the lyric and mystic odes of Hafiz, may, with many other poems, all be termed the scriptures of the Sooffees of Persia. It is to them that they continually refer; and the gravest writers who have defended their doctrine take their proofs from the pages of those poets, whom they deem to have been inspired by their holy theme.* The Sooffees inculcate forbearance, abstemiousness, and universal benevolence. They are unqualified predestinarians. They believe that the emanating

* Sir W. Jones's Essay on Mystical Poetry, in his Works, vol. 1, p. 445, 4to. edition. As the Sooffees study religion in poetry, it often happens that the passion of love which they imbibe is not purely divine. One sect of these religionists profess themselves ardent lovers of God, but as a Persian writer remarks, "they continually address the fairest "part of the Almighty's creation with a favorite sentence, "which implies, that *worldly love is the bridge over which* "*those must pass who seek the joys of divine love.*"

emanating principle, proceeding from God, can do nothing without his will, or refrain from nothing which he instigates. Some of them deny the existence of evil, because they say, every thing proceeds from God, and therefore must be good. The doctrine of reward and punishment is denied too by those, who carry to the greatest length the ideas of the reabsorption of the soul in the divine essence.

In every country of the East where Sooffeeism has been preached, the Muhammedan doctors have deplored its influence on the human mind. Those who are in the first ranks of this mystic faith conform to the established religion; and the gradual manner in which men are led into infidelity is justly stated by Moslem divines to be one of the greatest dangers that attend this delusive doctrine. Sovereigns have often been called upon to defend the true faith from the attacks of popular teachers; who, from the sanctity of their lives, and the captivating nature of their doctrines, acquired an alarming popularity. The free opinions of the Sooffees respecting the dogmas of Islamism, and their claims to a distinct communion with the deity, are calculated to subvert that belief for which an outward respect is shewn by them. The important objection against Sooffeism is, that to

itself

CHAP. VII. itself at is no religion; wherever it prevails, it unsettles the existing belief, but substitutes no other of a defined and intelligible nature. Though it professes to leave the mass of the people in the state in which it found them, it never can do so. Their minds are taught to consider an attention to all the forms of religion which they follow as a mere worldly duty, from which they are to be released by an increase of knowledge or of devotion. The Sooffee priest does not deny the mission of Muhammed, but he refines the dogmas of the Koran to a spiritual sense; and while he instructs his disciples to consider the Arabian Prophet and his successors as persons who have been instruments in the hands of Providence for preserving the moral order of the world, he boasts a direct and familiar intercourse with the deity, and claims on that ground their unlimited obedience in all that regards their spiritual interests.*

Such, then, are the delusive and visionary doctrines of Sooffeeism. The subject is interesting to the historian, because the veneration which the professors of them received, enabled the descendants of Moosah, the seventh Imam, to ascend the splendid throne of Persia, and to enjoy

* Malcolm's Persia, vol. 2, p. 382—424.

enjoy it for more than two centuries.* It is more interesting to the Muhammedan theologian, for Sooffeeism was embraced by the Carmathians and Assassins of former ages, and is received by the Fakirs and Dervises of the present day. It is interesting to the philosopher, also, on account of its striking similarity to some main principles both of the Brahmins of Hindustan and of the sages of antiquity. The immortality of the soul, her emanation from the celestial mind, her debasement, wanderings, and final union with her source, are the subjects of metaphysical disquisition among the philosophers of India.† The origin of a monastic life has been traced to Egypt, where a fertile soil and warm climate produced monks and hermits swarming like animals sprung from the impregnated mud of the Nile. The mental disease, called austerity, has always raged as violently in India as in Egypt. There is in the habits of the Hindus, and in the character of their religion, something which peculiarly cherishes that spirit of holy abstraction in which Sooffeeism is founded. This mystic worship of the divinity has therefore

 flourished

* Ismael the First ascended the throne of Persia in A.D. 1500, and his family was subverted by Nadir Shah in 1736.

† Jones's Dissertation on the Hindus.

CHAP. VII. flourished in India, and some writers of eminence countenance the conjecture which assures us, that India is the source whence other nations have derived this particular species of fanaticism. The congeniality which is to be found between Soofeeism and Platonism, has made the lofty and ennobling visions of Plato acceptable to the Persians. Before the days of this philosophical enthusiast, Pythagoras* had taught that the souls of men were emanations from the divine essence. Plato held the same doctrine, and also argued that the soul during her continuance in the body was, as it were, in a state of imprisonment. From these theoretical principles he drew the practical conclusion, that we should endeavour by contemplation to disengage the soul from corporeal confinement, and reunite

Her-

* The life and opinions of Pythagoras, if translated into Persian, would be read at this moment as those of a Soofee saint. The tale of his initiation into the mysteries of the divine nature, his deep contemplation and abstraction of mind, his miracles, his passionate love of music, his mode of teaching his disciples, the persecution that he suffered, and the manner of his death, present us with nearly an exact parallel to what is related of many of the most eminent of the Soofee teachers, and may lead to a supposition that there must be something similar in the state of human knowledge and of society where the same causes produce the same effects. Malcolm's Persia, vol. 2, ch. 22.

her to the divine nature:* a doctrine which CHAP. VII.
encourages the dreams of fancy and destroys moral energies. One great principle of Soofeeism, namely the identity of God and matter, agrees more closely with the doctrines of the modern Platonists than with Plato. The philosopher himself unfolds two principles in nature, the one he calls God, the other matter. He holds the coeternity, and coexistence of both; but he carefully separates them. His notions of the Godhead, even Cicero, his translator, could not perfectly comprehend. Enough is apparent to convince us that the ideas of Plato respecting the Divinity were not of the most sublime nature. The power of the Deity is limited, and human affairs are guided and superintended by an inferior class of spirits called demons. Omnipotence and omniscience in their noblest sense are not attributes of Plato's God. It is evident, however, from various passages of the Timæus, that Plato considered God as having formed and fashioned the world into its present state. Matter, from which all things are made, is perfectly chaotic, yet capable of receiving

2 I 2

* Cicero, de Nat. Deor. I. II.; De Senectute, cap. 21.; and Brucker's, Historia Philosophiæ, pars. 2. lib. 2. cap. 6. ser. 1.

CHAP. VII. ceiving any impression or change.* The modern Platonists Ammonius, Plotinus, and others, adopted the creed of Pythagoras and the Egyptian priests, that God and the universe are but one, and that they can be separated only in imagination. The opinion that matter is merely a mental delusion seems to be held by the Sooffees in these days as it was formerly by the Platonists.†

* Timæus sive de universitate, Gr. and Lat. Interp. M. T. Cicerone et Chalcidio, Par. 1578 4to. p. 16, 33, 118. Cicero, Acad. Quæst. 1, 37. Tusc. Quæst. 1, 17. Ep. ad Atticum, 3, 13.

† Cicero, de Nat. Deor. 1, 11. Plotini, opera, Basil. fol. 1580, p. 148, 152. Moshemius de Rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum, p. 283—289, 4to. 1753.

THE END.

ERRATUM.

Page 432, line 20, for Casa read Cuta.

Printed by
[illegible] and Bayliss, Great Queen Street,
Lincoln's Inn Fields.

00029578

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 January, 2016